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Daily Report
Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-94-249 *28 December 1994*

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OSCE Work in Nagorno-Karabakh, Oil Agreement Viewed

MS2812104594 London THE GUARDIAN in English 28 Dec 94 p 11

[Report by Jonathan Rugman: "Oil Fuels Enclave Peace Initiative"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku—Several question marks hang over the proposed deployment next year of international peacekeepers around the disputed territory of Nagorno-Karabakh despite approval for the project by the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) earlier this month.

The 53-country OSCE (formerly the CSCE) decided at its Budapest summit to send up to 3,000 troops to police a ceasefire between Armenians and Azerbaijanis.

Coming amid widening divisions over Bosnia, the OSCE's proposed intervention was hailed as an important step in the organisation's attempts to be taken seriously as a forum for settling regional disputes.

President Geydar Aliyev of Azerbaijan told the OSCE that more than 20,000 people had been killed in and around Nagorno-Karabakh since 1988.

United Nations sources estimate that 6,000 people have been killed since last December. The mainly Armenian-populated territory is entirely inside Azerbaijan but has been fighting for independence.

The last flare-up in the conflict occurred during an Armenian offensive in April which created an estimated 50,000 Azeri refugees. Both sides are now said to be exhausted by the conflict, and a ceasefire has largely held since May.

Yet Azerbaijani officials and Western diplomats in the Azeri capital, Baku, doubt that the OSCE is really intent on sending lightly armed troops to Azerbaijan, or that the combatants will permit such a force.

"We are a long way from agreement," said Tofik Sulfuharov, a senior negotiator in the Azeri foreign ministry. Nagorno-Karabakh's status could only be resolved after an Armenian withdrawal and the return of Azeri refugees to their homes, he said. "We cannot allow an international force to legitimise ethnic cleansing."

Embarrassing his own officials, President Clinton disclosed in Budapest that Russia had been offered the chance to contribute up to 50 per cent of peacekeepers—a figure Azerbaijan and its closest ally, Turkey, reject due to fears of a permanent Russian military presence on Azeri borders. Negotiations on the composition of the force are to begin in Vienna next month.

Eighteen countries, including Croatia, Norway and Turkey have offered personnel or equipment. Britain has promised a signals unit, but is understood to be reluctant to become further involved.

Diplomats in Baku fear the scenario will eventually resemble that in the breakaway Georgian territory of Abkhazia, where Russian troops have since May, patrolled a ceasefire between Georgian and Abkhazian forces, with a token presence of international observers. The Russian military presence has effectively sealed Georgia's division.

"The OSCE really needs this one to work, or the Russians will have won again in their sphere of influence," a senior diplomat in Baku said. "But after Bosnia and Chechnya, do Western countries really want to get involved in Azerbaijan?"

Diplomats in Baku believe the most likely solution will not involve redrawing borders, but for Nagorno-Karabakh to be given autonomy within Azerbaijan, together with a communications corridor to Armenia.

"Some 120,000 Armenians sitting on a mountain top cannot expect independence," was how one diplomat put it.

Mr Clinton's interest in Azerbaijan marks an unprecedented burst of American willingness to end the six-year conflict.

In September, US companies were part of the consortium led by British Petroleum which signed an oil agreement with Azerbaijan worth 4.6 billion pounds in foreign investment—the biggest deal of its kind in the former Soviet Union.

"The Azeris were very direct," a Western diplomat in Baku said. "They told us if we helped to stop the war we would get the oil."

Interparliamentary Assembly Meets on Dniester Conflict

LD2812124294 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0740 GMT 28 Dec 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lev Rumyantsev]

[FBIS Translated Text] St. Petersburg, 28 Dec—The peace-making group of the CIS Inter-Parliamentary Assembly [IPA] to settle the conflict in the Dniester region has begun its work in Kishinev [Chisinau], the capital of the Moldovan Republic. An ITAR-TASS correspondent was informed of this today at the press center of the IPA of the CIS countries. The peace-making group, which is headed by Valeriyan Viktorov, deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Council, includes representatives of the Parliaments of Georgia, Kazakhstan, Belarus, Russia, and Mikhail Krotov, general secretary of the IPA council.

During the course of three days the CIS parliamentarians will be meeting the heads of parliament of the Republic of Moldova and the Dniester region and the inhabitants of areas in the conflict zone.

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Industrial Production Declines 23.8 Percent in Jan-Nov

MM2812125194 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 27 Dec 94 p 1

[Unattributed report under the "At a Quick Glance" rubric]

[FBIS Translated Text] Between January and November industrial production in the CIS countries fell by 23.8 percent compared to the same period last year, with production in November falling 3 percent more than in October. Specifically, output fell by 5 percent in Belorussia [Belarus], by 18 percent in Turkmenia [Turkmenistan], and by 22 percent in Azerbaijan. In Ukraine it remained at last month's level. It increased by 1 percent in Russia and by 7 percent in Kirghizia [Kyrgyzstan].

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 28 Dec

LD2812083394 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0528 GMT 28 Dec 94

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow December 28 (ITAR-TASS)—Today's Moscow press concentrates on the situation in Chechnya. Newspapers give a summary of President Boris Yeltsin's address to the nation which he made over national television on Tuesday.

"The Russian president stated that constitutional law and order will be restored in Chechnya," the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA newspaper stresses in its headline. "President Yeltsin promises: Groznyy will not be bombed any longer," states the NOVAYA YEZHEDNEVNAYA GAZETA newspaper.

The TRUD daily singles out words in the Russian leader's address that talks with chieftains of illegal armed detachments should concentrate on a ceasefire and surrender of weapons.

At the same time, some newspapers criticise the president's TV address. "Boris Yeltsin did not even express regret at the death of civilians in Groznyy from Russian air raids," the NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA newspaper front-pages its article under this headline.

It claims that "the president could not offer any political recipes for settling the Chechen problem", adding that "the speech did not clarify the main thing: will Russian troops assault the Chechen capital in the near future?"

"First stage of 'the Chechen campaign': hundreds of dead, thousands of wounded and several hundred thousands of homeless," stresses the IZVESTIYA newspaper in a splash headline on the front page.

In the opinion of the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA newspaper, the president did not give in his address "a clear-cut explanation of why he threw people into the crucible of war at peacetime". "The conflict went so far that only a new year miracle can stop the war," the daily claims.

The ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA newspaper informs its readers that the Russian Security Council decided at its meeting to organise regular deliveries of the daily to Chechnya.

ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA carries a statement by head of the Stavropol territory administration Yevgeniy Kuznetsov that there will be no volunteers from Cossacks in Chechnya as well as a statement by the elders' council of political repression victims, criticising the position of Russian human rights representative Sergey Kovalev who turned, in actual fact, into an ardent supporter of Dzhokhar Dudayev.

The same newspaper reports that a criminal case was instituted against Russian national Aleksandra Atapina who set up an offshore company on Cyprus and used it to organise illegal arms deliveries from the Izhevsk munitions factory (Volga Basin) to Groznyy.

The PRAVDA newspaper reports in an article from the Tatar republican capital Kazan that Tatar President Mintimer Shaymiyev described the Chechen crisis as the start of a civil war and advocated its solution by holding a referendum in Chechnya.

IZVESTIYA runs a letter from Aleksandr Korzhakov, head of the Russian president's security service, which describes an article published by the daily on December 22 on his letter to Russian Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin concerning the repeal of oil export quotas as "scornful and openly biased commentary".

Korzhakov expressed confidence that if the letter to the premier is published in full, readers will understand its real reasons.

IZVESTIYA accompanies Korzhakov's letter with its own spacious commentary, claiming that Korzhakov's extreme interest in oil export, which has nothing to do with his work, "looks very queer" and that Korzhakov "compromises not so much himself as the Russian president".

ROSSIISKAYA GAZETA prints the article "Who governs the country—Yeltsin, Chernomyrdin or financial capital?" by Vladimir Klimov where the daily describes critical statements by some Moscow periodicals concerning actions by officers of the Russian president's security service on December 2 against armed bodyguards of the Most financial group as smearing with mud

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those "who regard the notion of statehood, state and protection of its interests not as an empty word but as a principle of life".

The newspaper quotes words by Most-Bank President Gusinskiy who admitted in an interview with Radio Liberty that the Most group had financed the election campaign of the Russia's Choice, PRES and Yabloko parties.

"A Western businessman who buys a politician, is immediately brought to court," the newspaper stresses.

PRAVDA notes that the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party summed up the results of a national poll for early elections of the Russian president. The newspaper says that 3,106,000 signatures were collected over the past three months.

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NATO's Claes Cited on Partnership, Expansion

MM2812111994 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 27 Dec 94 p 3

[RIA-NOVOSTI report on interview with NATO Secretary General Willy Claes by unidentified correspondent "specially for ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI" in Brussels; date not given; published under "Opinion" rubric: "Willy Claes Even Prepared To Conduct Orchestra for Sake of Dialogue With Moscow"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "Slava is a good friend of mine!" the NATO secretary general exclaimed on seeing the photograph of Mstislav Rostropovich given to him by Russian journalists, whom he received the other day at NATO headquarters.

Having assumed high office in the North Atlantic alliance, "maestro" Willy Claes, as the local press often calls him, has not forsaken his love of music. In his spare time away from his NATO worries he still enthusiastically conducts professional orchestras.

Unfortunately music could not, for understandable reasons, be the main subject of the interview which the NATO secretary general gave to RIA-NOVOSTI.

"It is by no means a given that all the East European countries wishing to join the North Atlantic alliance will definitely be accepted into it," W. Claes said, answering what today is quite naturally the first question. "In order to become a NATO member, as envisaged in Article 10 of the Washington Treaty, the full agreement of all 16 member countries of the North Atlantic alliance is required. It is they who will select the prospective member. Currently we are not even discussing the question of who this possible future member will be. At a meeting of leaders of alliance countries in January this year it was decided that expansion of the alliance must be the result of an evolutionary process. This decision was repeatedly discussed with both President Boris Yeltsin and Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev. As far as I know the Russian president did not object 'in principle'," the NATO secretary general said.

"At a meeting in Brussels at the beginning of December the NATO foreign ministers agreed to set about implementing this idea," Claes continued. "We decided to begin internal discussions of this question and to discuss not 'who' will join NATO and 'when,' but 'how' we should carry out this task which is an extremely complex one from the organizational, financial, and political viewpoints.

"We were somewhat surprised by the reactions of President B. Yeltsin and the minister, Andrey Kozyrev, to the North Atlantic Council's decision inasmuch as we restated that we did not want a 'second Yalta' and a new division of Europe," Willy Claes noted. "We invited Russia to sign documents pertaining to the 'Partnership for Peace.' And a very important individual program is already ready today. But taking into consideration Russia's importance, size, and potential, we decided at the summit meeting to invite it to participate in an enlarged intensive dialogue with NATO. In this connection an appropriate document has also been prepared which envisages not only an exchange of information and consultations but also wide cooperation on security issues. Moreover, we clearly said that when discussing plans for NATO's expansion, we will inform all interested partners. I spoke personally to A. Kozyrev about this and emphasized that there is no doubt that Russia will know the results of these discussions as proof that we do not wish to isolate it.

"No discussion as to who will join NATO and when is taking place at present," Claes emphasized once more. He lamented the fact that the Russian president is persistently opposing any expansion at a time when the countries of East and Central Europe "are knocking at our door and demanding that we speed up the enlargement process." "We will, of course, take Russia's stance into consideration," Willy Claes said, "but we cannot give any country the right to veto our decisions.

"I think that by implementing the 'Partnership for Peace' program a more constructive atmosphere will be created in Eastern Europe and this very discussion will be facilitated," Claes continued. He emphasized that NATO was ready to cooperate with Russia to increase stability in the continent and reinforce the success of the economic reforms. Although the meeting in Budapest did not have the expected results, I believe that the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe will remain the main instrument of preventive diplomacy, and NATO is ready to assist this institution in the settlement of international crises. [quotation marks as published]

Only cooperation among all the existing European organizations can, in Claes's opinion, produce tangible results with regard to the strengthening of security in the continent.

Asked if the proposed expansion of NATO will undermine the treaty on conventional weapons in Europe, Claes expressed the opinion that this treaty must first be implemented in full "as it stands," and that Russia's proposals in connection with the changed geopolitical conditions should be discussed at a conference planned for later.

"We are open to further dialogue with Russia," W. Claes emphasized, pointing out that regular meetings at the highest level are envisaged by the program of cooperation between NATO and Russia which has already been prepared.

"If all politicians were musicians, we would achieve harmony much more easily," Willy Claes said in conclusion, pointing out that he hopes to come to Moscow in the coming months to conduct the Moscow Philharmonic Orchestra at a music festival.

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Karasin: CFE Flank Restrictions 'May' Be Reconsidered

LD2712173594 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1636 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow Dec 27 (Interfax)—Russia may unilaterally reconsider flank restrictions established by the Conventional Forces Treaty in Europe (CFE).

The chief of the Foreign Ministry's Information Department Grigoriy Karasin said at a briefing in Moscow that "if the Western partners continue delaying the search for mutually acceptable solutions, Russia would simply have to take such measures unilaterally".

"However, that is not an option we would prefer", he said.

Karasin said that flank restrictions had become "unambiguously discriminatory." "They do not let Russia maintain its security at an appropriate level, in the first place in the unstable southern region. Russia is dissatisfied with progress in resolving the flank restrictions issue, the more so, since the latest events in the North Caucasus have seriously worsened the situation," the official said."

Karasin said in particular that NATO's response to Russia's proposal for adjusting the CFE treaty to the new realities was inadequate. "As a matter of fact we are still being recommended to look for solutions within the framework of the CFE parameters", Karasin said.

For details see the December 27 edition of Diplomatic Panorama.

Belarus Blamed for Cheap Sale to U.S. of S-300 System

MM2812103594 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Dec 94 First Edition p 1

[Article by Mikhail Snchipanov: "Secrets on Wings. Belorussian [Belarusian] Officials Sell Americans Unique Surface-to-Air Missile System"]

[FBIS Translated Text] There is nothing secret that will not be laid bare. The landing last week by an An-24 "Ruslan" transport at the U.S. Redstone Air Base (Alabama) was a sensation in itself.

Naturally, most questions were initially addressed to the Russian military authorities. And the questions became more acute as it became more obvious that a rather unseemly episode was unfolding. The aircraft had been shipping to the United States elements of the advanced S-300 PMU surface-to-air missile system—the system which, in the opinion of specialists, is capable of outperforming its U.S. counterpart (the Patriot surface-to-air missile system and its modifications). It is well known that systems of this class can intercept tactical missiles, and the Americans widely advertised their system during Operation "Desert Storm," when the Patriots supposedly demonstrated unprecedented effectiveness in destroying Saddam Husayn's Scud missiles. At the time, Moscow had started talking openly for the first time about the unprecedented performance of our S-300, which reportedly surpasses the American "toy" in many areas.

In this context it would clearly be superfluous to talk about the extent to which U.S. specialists—who, according to available information, are experiencing considerable difficulties in perfecting the Patriot 2 missile systems—were interested in the possibility of taking an S-300 apart. Incidentally, the military base near the town of Huntsville is also home to the U.S. Army Missile Command, which develops tactical missiles and their logistic support.

This digression is necessary in order to assess all the circumstances that prompted the new scandal. A scandal which became all the more poignant when it became known that the system had been supplied by fraternal Belorussia [Belarus], which had participated in its development and, consequently, now considered itself morally entitled to dispose of its Soviet legacy.

As often happens in the CIS, in Belorussia the right hand did not know what the left hand was doing. Or the extreme right hand. The republic's president, Alyaksandr Lukashenka, seemingly managed to veto the deal, but, clearly, the military business train had by then already left the station. Broken down into its components, the system was successfully sent abroad. Consequently, the opposition—which, through the mouth of Deputy Antonchyk, had been able to accuse the Presidential Staff of multilayered corruption—used this as ammunition as well.

Actually, there is a possible mechanism for that demon of corruption which so sharply beguiled the Belorussian administrators. The size of the deal was given in advance—$6 million (the actual price of the S-300 is virtually 10 times as much). It is not hard to imagine that a considerable proportion of the difference not received through official channels went to middlemen who can get around any veto for that kind of money.

But this is speculation, put it that way. It is more interesting to look at the moral and legal aspects of the "deal of the year." Thus, according to existing information, the unit was sold by the government-controlled "Beltekheksport" firm. The firm rapidly found common ground with its colleagues from the U.S. company BDM International, which specializes in buying weapons systems for...Pentagon tests. According to available information, Moscow did not want to sell a single model to anyone. It could only be a question of the technology or a multibillion [currency unspecified] deal to supply many systems—but the Yankees found the cheapest way to acquire the system they needed.

There are no formal bans on such deals. There is a ban on selling nuclear components promoting the proliferation of nuclear weapons. There are agreements banning

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the export of missile technology—it was on that basis that the Americans tried to thwart our sale of cryogenic engines to India. It was claimed that a new Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls would control such deals to ensure that advanced missile technology of terrible destructive force did not fall into the hands of dictators and unstable regimes. But the United States, naturally, is not considered to fall into that category. Moral restrictions remain, but their influence under today's market conditions are by no means equal to the countervailing argument of foreign currency.

S-300 Said To Contain Valuable Secrets

MK2712101794 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Dec 94 p 2

[Report by Igor Korotchenko under the "Details" rubric: "A Big Success by U.S. Military Intelligence. William Perry Can Congratulate His Subordinates"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) has once again lived up to its reputation as a highly professional special service by bringing to the Redstone military base in Alabama a secret S-300 PMU surface-to-air missile system, which has no analogues in the world and which is the mobile version of the fixed-site S-300V. The S-300 surface-to-air missile system was developed at the Moscow-based "Almaz" Scientific-Production Association to combat low-observable airborne targets (equipped with Stealth technology) and cruise missiles, and also to destroy warheads of operational-tactical and intercontinental ballistic missiles during the final phase of their flight.

S-300 surface-to-air missile systems have been operational since 1985. The first to switch to the new weapon were air defense missile regiments of the Moscow Air Defense District. Some time later these systems were received by Air Defense Armies covering Kiev and Minsk.

For many years the Americans could judge the S-300's combat capabilities, specifications, and performance characteristics only on the basis of indirect data obtained mainly via space-, air-, and ground-based electronic intelligence-gathering equipment. Widely used for this purpose was, among other things, the Ferret-4 artificial Earth satellite, designed for detailed electronic reconnaissance, and aircraft of U.S. airlines specially equipped with reconnaissance hardware, which flew transit flights along the air corridors of the Moscow area. Round-the-clock interception of radiation emitted by radar equipment of the new air defense system was carried out by an electronic intelligence center, located at the main building of the U.S. Embassy complex in Moscow. Operational-technical precautions taken by the Defense Ministry and the KGB at the time helped minimize possible damage.

Following the Belovezhskaya Forest accords, some state-of-the-art weapons were left with the national Armies of CIS countries, which created the objective prerequisites for foreign special services to gain access to Russian military secrets. In fact, the DIA was swift to seize the chance, acting by proxy. It is well known that the contract for the sale of a single S-300 PMU was signed by the Belarusian state company "Beltekheksport," a transaction the Russian press protested against as early as late November 1994. At the time, Belarusian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka announced the suspension of the contract and promised to clarify all details before it was signed. Scarcely a month has passed, however, and the secret hardware has been safely sent to the United States. It is worth noting that when the DIA-run operation was about to enter its final stage, a high-ranking Belarusian delegation visited Britain. Some generals from Minsk had a comfortable opportunity to discuss the amount of the commissions to be paid for their lobbying for the deal, off the record, with representatives of U.S. special services who came to London for this particular purpose.

What does the purchase of a Russian surface-to-air missile system by the Pentagon actually mean? The S-300 includes three functionally independent radars: a warning radar, a low-altitude detector, and an illumination and guidance radar. In peacetime all of them operate on open frequencies. Apart from open frequencies, there are wartime frequencies, however, which can only be operated in a combat situation or against targets that have violated the state border. The use of a number of special radiation modes by the warning radar, the low-altitude detector, and the illumination and guidance radar are limited in daily operation, as is the use of certain missile-guidance combat algorithms. All this is done to impede a potential enemy's use of electronic interference measures and self-guided weapons.

The export version of the S-300, while retaining all the advantages and capabilities of the basic system, does not include a number of secret units and components that support wartime operation modes. The S-300 PMU surface-to-air missile system sold by Minsk was designed exclusively for internal use. Therefore, after a series of laboratory and field tests, U.S. military specialists will be able to find out all strong and weak points of the Russian air defense system and also to adjust their research and development efforts to design forward-looking electronic warfare equipment that will be installed on B-1 and B-2 strategic bombers, Tomahawk cruise missiles, and ICBM's of all types. I do not think there is a need to explain what this might mean for Russia.

Special Body To Probe Missile Sale

MK2812090294 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 28 Dec 94 p 1

[Report by Igor Korotchenko under the "In Brief" rubric: "General Staff Assesses Damage Done by S-300 Antiaircraft Missile System Sale"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A special commission has been set up in the Russian Federation Armed Forces General

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Staff to assess the damage done to the interests of Russia's security by the deal concluded by Minsk to sell the United States the classified S-300 PMU surface-to-air missile system. In line with the directive by Lieutenant General Mikhail Kolesnikov, chief of the General Staff, the commission includes representatives of a number of directorates subordinate to him, as well as a group of generals and officers of the Air Defense troops Main Staff. The results of the commission's work will be reported to President Boris Yeltsin. Well-informed military sources do not rule out the possibility that, once he has studied the General Staff's expert conclusions, the Russian president may give orders that operations by the GRU [Main Intelligence Directorate] and the FIS [Foreign Intelligence Service] be stepped up on the territory of the United States.

Dudayev Calls for Help from Turkey

TA2812062494 Nicosia Bayrak Radio in Turkish 0600 GMT 28 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] [passage indistinct] Speaking to Turkish journalists, Chechen leader Dudayev said: You must help us. We are not afraid of the Russians. Are you? We will continue our struggle.

In that section of the interview broadcast on (Exantico) television, Dudayev called on Turkish leaders saying: The Russians are bombing Groznyy. We, too, have the right to attack. You have big, long-range aircraft. Give me aircraft that can fly to Moscow so I can go and attack them.

[Nicosia Bayrak Radio in Turkish at 0600 GMT on 28 December, in the headlines previewing the above report, says that "Dudayev asked for political asylum in Turkey."]

Foreign Ministry: Moscow Not Selling Arms to Pakistan

LD2712184994 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1713 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow Dec 27 (Interfax)—The chief of the Asian Department of the Russian Foreign Ministry, Yuriy Kotov has denied rumors Moscow sells to Pakistan. Speaking at a briefing in Moscow he described such rumors as outrageous falsehoods. "Moscow will be prepared to change its position, however, not before the situation in the region is changed", Kotov said.

He explained that he was referring to situations in Pakistan and other countries of the region—Afghanistan, Tajikistan and others.

Kotov said that active preparations were underway for the Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto's visit to Russia. Kotov was unable to name an exact date for the visit, which is expected to take place in the first half of next year.

Limits on Russian-Azeri-Georgian Border Crossing Lifted

LD2712144194 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1428 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow December 27 TASS—A resolution "On lifting several limits imposed by a government resolution of December 19, 1994, 'On temporary limits on crossing the Russian state border with the Azeri Republic and the Republic of Georgia'" was signed by the Russian prime minister today, the government press service told ITAR-TASS today.

The resolution provides for:

—permission to leave the Russian Federation for foreign citizens and stateless persons, vehicles and servicing personnel who legitimately arrived in the Russian Federation before December 21, 1994;

—admission to the Russian Federation of vehicles that belong to citizens of the Russian Federation, foreign citizens and stateless persons permanently residing in the Russian Federation, juridical persons registered in the Russian Federation and commodities transported by the aforesaid means of transportation;

—establishment on coordination with the Government of the Republic of Daghestan and the administration of the Krasnodar territory of the procedure to cross the Russian state border and resumed admission (to the Republic of Daghestan and the Krasnodar territory) of persons living in adjoining border areas of the Azeri Republic and the Republic of Georgia and permanently working on territory of the Russian Federation;

—Permission to cross the Russian state border for residents of adjoining areas who are making trips on family reasons (wedding, grave disease or death of close relatives, etc);

—air, sea and car transportation to ensure the activities of Russian troops stationed on Georgian territory.

The resolution will enter into force at 6 p.m. on December 27, 1994.

Baykonur Will Be Main Cosmodrome for Many Years

LD2712215994 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1859 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Dec 27 (Interfax)—Baykonur will remain Russia's main cosmodrome for the next 12-15 years as nearly all military and civilian space programs can be implemented only from this launch site, a deputy head of the Russian Space Agency, Boris Ostroumov, told a news conference in Moscow Tuesday [27 December].

According to Ostroumov, Baykonur can launch nearly all Russian telecommunications and navigation satellites, automatic interplanetary stations, piloted, cargo

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and transport modules as well as 90 percent of launches under international programs.

A total of 41 spacecraft of various purposes was launched by Russia in 1994, including 26 (43 percent) from Baykonur. About 610 billion rubles were channelled for space programs, including 310 billion spent on piloted flight programs.

Another 45 spacecraft will be launched next year, including 21 from Baykonur. Eleven launches will be made under the U.S.-Russian program Mir-Shuttle, already granted 49 billion rubles by the U.S. side. The launches of orbit-based modules Spektr and Priroda in May and November respectively and three launches of spacecraft Soyuz will be the most important next year, Ostroumov said.

According to an intergovernmental agreement on leasing the cosmodrome for 20 years signed earlier this month, Russia is to manage and coordinate all activities on the launch site and annually pay a lease of $115 million.

Russia To Lease From Kazakhstan

LD2712134394 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1330 GMT 27 Dec 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anna Bakina]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow December 27 TASS—"The quesiton of the Baykonur cosmodrome is no longer a political question. It is an economic question", Boris Ostroumov, deputy chief of the Russian Space Agency, told a news conference on Tuesday [27 December].

He said the sum that will be paid to Kazakhstan for the lease of the cosmodrome was fixed at 115 million dollars. Meanwhile Kazakhstan's debt to the Russian Federation amounts to 1,300 million dollars.

The question of the status of 16 thousand Russian servicemen who will be preparing and staging launches of spacecraft of scientific, economic and international importance has also been defined. Their work will be financed by the Russian Space Agency. Another 12,000 servicemen will be ensuring the launchings of military spacecraft. Their activity will be financed by the Russian Space Defence Forces.

However, the financing of space programmes from the federal budget is insufficient, Ostroumov said. Thus, in 1994, the Russian Space Agency received only a quarter of the earmarked sum. Meanwhile the launchings of spacecraft are expensive. For instance, the launching of a "Proton" rocket carrier costs 20-30 billion roubles. Tree quarters of the sum for the launching of any rocket is spent not on the very spacecraft, but on ground installations.

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Political Issues

Dudayev on Negotiations, Russians

AU2812084494 Hamburg BILD AM SONNTAG in German 25 Dec 94 pp 4-5

["Exclusive" interview with Chechnya's President Dzokhar Dudayev by Nikolay Nor-Mesek, director of the Frankfurt Institute for Soviet Studies, via satellite telephone during the first bombing of Groznyy; "the first interview Dudayev gave to a Western medium after the beginning of the Russian invasion": "Yeltsin Is a Blood-Sucker and a Copy of Stalin"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Nor-Mesek] In Moscow there are rumors that Yeltsin is ready to make far-reaching concessions and to accept Chechnya's independence. Do you want to negotiate without reservations?

[Dudayev] No. First all Russian troops must have left our country. Then I am willing to negotiate with the Russian president; this is what I told Defense Minister Grachev and all the others who were here. We do not permit anyone to treat us as our brothers in Bosnia have been treated. There will be no negotiations with department heads or deputy ministers as negotiators. Yeltsin is not sitting down with a U.S. assistant state secretary at the negotiating table.

[Nor-Mesek] Do you have the support of other Muslim peoples in the former Soviet Union?

[Dudayev] My neighbors, the peoples of Dagestan, the Ingush, the Kabardinians, and the Kumyks, yes, all peoples of our region are on the side of the just. The confederation of the Caucasus peoples is supporting us. No one wants an aggressive, unpredictable, and drunk Russian dog in front of our house. We will fight; perhaps in the end we will not exist anymore. However, I believe that then Russia will not have its president anymore—if there will still be a Russia then. Almost all regions of Russia want to get away from the blood-sucker in Moscow. The Russian president is increasingly developing into a copy of Stalin and Zhirinovskiy.

[Nor-Mesek] If the Russians manage to occupy your country, will you then wage a partisan war from the underground?

[Dudayev] I do not believe that Moscow will manage to occupy Chechnya. The Russian leadership will not be able to manage that militarily or in terms of domestic policy. If it were possible after all, we will, of course, continue our fight as regular Chechen armed forces from the underground—with all means.

[Nor-Mesek] Do you hate the Russians?

[Dudayev] Why? My wife is Russian, and we have three wonderful children. I have many Russian friends, even today. I admire the Russians for the way they tolerate suffering—poverty and hopelessness. In the past they all had food, today there are more than 10 million people without jobs, and those who work wait months for their wages. Many do not know how to survive another day. The Russian leadership lives as snug as a bug in a rug.

Ministry Earmarks 260 Billion Rubles for Chechnya Aid

LD2712213594 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1859 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Dec 27 (Interfax)—The Russian Social Protection Ministry will appropriate over 260 billion rubles from its budget for aid to Chechnya residents, Deputy Minister Pavel Kaminskiy said at a news conference Tuesday.

The aid will be provided as medicines, foodstuffs, warm clothing and vehicles, he said. He could not specify the amount the ministry will make available to social protection bodies.

Kaminskiy emphasized that as the situation calms down in Chechnya, the infrastructure of social protection, destroyed by the Dzhokhar Dudayev regime, would be restored. He said that the ministry's priority is to make sure that pensions are paid regularly and social guarantees provided by the Russian Constitution work. According to Kaminskiy, there are 95,000 pensioners in Chechnya now.

He said that 65,000 Chechnya residents are paid pensions in the neighboring Stavropol Territory, Northern Ossetia, Kabardino-Balkaria and Dagestan. They are chiefly refugees. The procedure of pension and other payments have been streamlined for them.

Yuriy Lyublin, first deputy chairman of the Russian Federation's Pension Fund, said that the nearly 5000 pensioners in the Nadterechnyy District of Chechnya will be the first to have their pensions. The fund made two billion rubles available to pay back pensions since August 1994 to them.

The Social Protection Ministry will need 40 to 50 billion rubles to pay back pensions to all pensioners in Chechnya.

Rybkin Cites Yeltsin's Concern as 'Evident'

LD2712205194 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2014 GMT 27 Dec 94

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Pavel Kuznetsov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow December 27 TASS—Commenting on the televised address to the nation made by President Boris Yeltsin today, Duma Speaker Ivan Rybkin noted that the president's concern is evident, he is worrying about that part of the Russian Federation with his whole heart.

The fact that the Russian Constitution and laws will rule in Chechnya instead of the mob is "indisputable",

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Rybkin told an exclusive ITAR-TASS interview. The speaker stressed he would like "this to be achieved with political methods".

However, "force must be used where the gangs refuse to lay down arms, and it should be the force of specially-trained units," said the speaker.

Unions Support Yeltsin on Chechen Issue

LD2712204594 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1859 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 27 (Interfax)—The Russian Independent Unions' Federation [RIUF] is ready to play any necessary part in talks over the Chechnya crisis, the head of the RIUF information center, Stanislav Kramarenko, told Interfax Tuesday.

Commenting on Boris Yeltsin's address to the nation on the situation in Chechnya, he pointed out that "the Russian unions' leadership entirely supports his view of the situation in that region of Russia and shares his concern over its possible development."

According to Kramarenko, "all branches of the economy are virtually destroyed in Chechnya, people thrown into misery, while local unions which could protect the interests of their members are simply paralyzed by the ruling regime."

The federation "also believes that such a situation is unacceptable, but insists on a political settlement of the conflict," Kramarenko said. He described as "unfounded and speculative the attempts by some politicians to use the events in Chechnya for their selfish ends."

Democrats Back Kovalev on Chechnya

LD2712185094 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1636 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Dec 27 (Interfax)—The federal council of the Democratic Russia party said it backed the "brave" position of Russian Commissioner for Human Rights Sergey Kovalev on military actions in Chechnya. The statement of the Democratic Russia's federal council signed by the co-chairmen of the party, Galina Starovoitova and Lev Ponomarev, was circulated today.

Kovalev and his colleagues Molostvov, Borshchev, Petrovskiy and Orlov, now in Groznyy, not only carry out an important peacemaking mission preventing mass bloodshed in the Chechen capital by the fact of their presence there but also ensure high moral ideals of the human rights movement to which many of them have made such a large contribution, the statement said.

The federal council of the Democratic Russia disagreed with the evaluation of activities of Kovalev given by Russian President Boris Yeltsin in the Russian Security Council on December 26 this year.

Shakhray on Troop Withdrawal, Bombardments

LD2712173694 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1636 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow Dec 27 (Interfax)—Russia's Vice-Premier, leader of the Unity and Accord Party's faction in the State Duma has said that bombardments in the Chechen republic must be brought to an end, however, the withdrawal of federal Russian troops from Chechnya should be ruled out.

Shakhray said in Tuesday's parliamentary hearings that the "inability of Russian special services to do away with criminal armed groups led by Dudayev or somebody else forced Russia to resort to those foolish bombardments".

He believes that the more Russian uses military equipment in Chechnya, the weaker the Russian state looks.

Shakhray called on President Yeltsin to use article 85 of the Constitution to set in motion the conciliatory procedure. He believes that negotiations on behalf of Chechnya must be conducted not with Dudayev, or Umar Avturkhanov (one of the opposition leaders) or any other Chechen leader, but a popular chamber formed on the territorial principle—one or two people from each community.

At the same time Shakhray believes that negotiations with Dudayev should to be conducted too. The question remained what the subject of such negotiations should be. Shakhray did not rule out Dudayev and his team might be allowed to leave the country.

Shakhray called for consistent measures to restore vital infra- structures in Chechnya. It is most important to restore the operation of the railway. Otherwise the entire region of the North Caucasus will be faced with famine.

Poll Shows Decline in Yeltsin's Popularity

LD2712172894 Moscow Radiostantsiya Ekho Moskvy in Russian 1600 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] President Boris Yeltsin's popularity is declining steadily. According to data from a poll conducted by the Public Opinion Center, 75 percent of the inhabitants of Russia do not approve of Yeltsin's actions in the post of head of state. In September 70 percent were dissatisfied. Twenty-two percent of those polled are satisfied with the way Boris Yeltsin carries out his duties. According to data from the Public Opinion Center, Grigoriy Yavlinskiy enjoys the greatest trust among the inhabitants of Russia with 35 percent.

RNA Calls for 'Russian' Government

MK2812094394 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 28 Dec 94 p 2

[Report by Viktor Khamrayev under the "Disposition" rubric: "General Sterligov: 'Fight Against Democrats Has Already Started.' President Asked To Institute 'An Ethnic Russian Government'"]

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[FBIS Translated Text] A complete replacement of the ruling "reformers" with an "ethnic Russian [russkiy] government" —such an option for settling the Chechen conflict was recognized as the only one possible by the duma of the Russian National Assembly [RNA], according to retired Major General Aleksandr Sterligov, RNA chairman, who organized the meeting with journalists especially to make this statement.

Arguing for the Assembly members' position, Mr. Sterligov stated that what is going on in Groznyy "has nothing to do with preserving Russia's integrity." The general assessed the military operation as "yet another attempt to extend the term of existence of the bankrupt Kremlin regime" which is implementing what he described as "an idea, elaborated somewhere other than Russia, for creating 53 independent states in place of the USSR." In this connection, President Yeltsin drew a reproach for being inconsistent and using "double standards:" "His friend Shevardnadze may have independence, why can't Dudayev have it?"

Referring to the results of his own meetings with elders in Chechnya, Aleksandr Sterligov assured the reporters that "the peoples do not want to separate" and concluded: "It is not a case of separating from the Russian [russkiy] people, but from the Russian [rossiyskiy] leadership." According to Mr. Sterligov, the reasons for the Russian government's failures lie in the fact that "there is a non-Russian in charge of national security, and there is a non- Russian in charge of economic reform." The retired KGB major general is confident that "citizens Baturins, Chubayses, Yasins, Livshitses don't care a bit for our national interests." Therefore the RNA leader suggested that President Yeltsin change course and get a new "crew" which the smaller peoples would "obviously trust;" based on this trust, Mr. Sterligov stressed, is the "wealth of experience of the centuries-old state of Russia." By a new "crew" the RNA leader implies "an ethnic Russian government."

Aleksandr Sterligov does not doubt that Boris Yeltsin must "make a choice" in the immdiate future: either a union with national forces and "a struggle against democrats which has already started," or "a personal dictatorship." Saying this, Mr. Sterligov thinks a success for "national forces" is predetermined and that he does not consider it dependent on the president's supposed choice.

Forecasting the future course of events, the ex-general expressed the hope that a dictator Yeltsin would not be a "usurper" and that he would not call off the elections for president. The RNA leader said that all "national forces" intend to nominate a single candidate for the elections. The name of a patriot-candidate will be made public not later than next February in Volgograd at the congress of representatives of all the patriotic organizations. Mr. Sterligov would like "such politicians as Varennikov, Goryacheva, Starodubtsev, Lapshin, Zyuganov, and Tuleyev" to take part in the work of the congress.

Democrats Discuss 'Interparty' Cooperation

MK2812091894 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 28 Dec 94 p 2

[Report by Gleb Cherkasov under the "Democratic Camp" rubric: "Democratic Russia Plans To Conclude a Series of Interparty Accords. The Main Criterion for Choosing Partners Will Be Their Attitude to the Chechen Crisis"]

[FBIS Translated Text] One of the most curious political initiatives of the early fall of 1994 was a campaign to conclude agreements between democratically minded parties and movements. At that time, the Democratic Russia [DR] movement concluded an agreement on cooperation with the Russian Democratic Reform Movement [RDRM] and the Economic Freedom Party [EFP]. According to the documents signed at the time, DR and RDRM and DR and EFP respectively agreed to clarify their stances on various issues, to coordinate their actions, and to exchange information. It was expected that other democratically minded associations will also be involved in the negotiating process, but this never happened, just as no actual steps have been taken to implement agreements already signed. However, the other day the democratic initiative was given a new lease of life.

The Federal Council of the Democratic Russia party [DRFC] announced its intention to conclude bilateral cooperation agreements with about ten Russian political parties. In an interview for INTERFAX, Galina Starovoytova, co-chairman of the DRFC, said that the main criterion for choosing partners to sign agreements will be their attitude to the Chechen conflict.

It seems, however, that the "main criterion" proposed by Ms. Starovoytova for concluding interparty accords is somewhat ambiguous. Presently, virtually all democratic parties and movements have denounced the actions of Russian troops in Chechnya and, in particular, the bombardments of Groznyy. It is hard to imagine that the unity of stances on just one, even if fairly important, issue could be a serious basis for reintegrating the democratic camp. At the same time, questions relating to the status of the Chechen Republic and the entry of Russian Army and Internal Affairs Ministry units in its territory have done a lot to split the democrats: Some parties and movements have spoken up for granting Chechnya independence, while others called for the Russian Federation Constitution be resuscitated on its territory.

It cannot be ruled out, however, that the criterion for uniting democratic organizations will be not just their reaction to the Chechen crisis, but their attitude to Boris Yeltsin.

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Korzhakov Comments on 'Biased' Article

MM2812111694 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Dec 94 p 2

[Article by Otto Latsis, incorporating letter from A.V. Korzhakov, chief of the Russian Federation Presidential Security Service: "General Korzhakov Runs the Country Like an Ordinary Citizen..."

[FBIS Translated Text] The chief editor of IZVESTIYA has received a letter from A.V. Korzhakov, chief of the Russian Federation Presidential Security Service. We cite its text, unaltered.

"Having studied I. Savvateyeva's article 'Who Is Running the Country—Yeltsin, Chernomyrdin, or General Korzhakov?', published on the front page of IZVESTIYA No. 245, 22 December 1994, as well as the reactions, disseminated in its subsequent issues, from certain foreign media to this article, which is described as the 'publication of a letter from A. Korzhakov,' I consider it necessary to make the following remarks:

"Despite the open nature of my appeal to the chairman of the Russian Federation Government, allowing its text to be reproduced in full in the article so as to offer readers the opportunity to form their own opinions of what kind of document it is that is 'being actively discussed in government corridors today,' IZVESTIYA published a contemptuously casual and frankly tendentious commentary by I. Savvateyeva.

"The author of the commentary, in the grip of a patently biased opinion and reluctant to go into the motives and essence of the appeal, tries to convince readers that 'the contents of the document in question are not the most important thing. The most important thing is the signature to the document.' To justify this thesis, without a twinge of conscience she manipulates individual, incomplete quotations from the appeal, distorts the position it sets forth, and puts forward various conjectures, without taking any trouble to fulfill the duties stipulated in the Russian Federation Law 'On the Mass Media' concerning checking the authenticity of information reported.

"Raising the question 'on what grounds' the chief of the Russian Federation Presidential Security Service 'takes upon himself the responsibility' of setting forth to the 'head of the Russian Government' his own opinion and proposals on a question that does not properly come within his competence, the author apparently forgets temporarily that in accordance with the Russian Federation Constitution **everyone** (that is, all citizens, officials, and organizations) **is guaranteed freedom of thought and speech; no one** (not even the chief of the Russian Federation Presidential Security Service) **may be forced to renounce the expression of his own opinions and convictions; everyone** (that is, even the chief of the Russian Federation Presidential Security Service) **has the right freely to seek, receive, transmit, produce, and disseminate information by any legal means.**

"One is reluctant to believe it, but the commentary IZVESTIYA offers on the appeal is in effect a call for indifference and inaction, as well as an open proposal to ignore the obvious and feign incomprehension when there is much that is evident and extremely clear.

"Taking advantage of the right of reply stipulated in Article 46 of the Russian Federation Law 'On the Mass Media,' I wish to remind you of the well-known truth that 'only cockroaches hide in crevices.' I have no intention of imitating them and doing nothing.

"In my opinion, given the publication of the actual full text of the appeal, readers could see for themselves not only its true motives and the essence of my proposal, which has received no reaction from the chairman of the Russian Federation Government, but also the absurdity of IZVESTIYA's attempts to link the appeal to the question of 'who runs the country.'" [letter ends]

The question is so serious that we would not wish even a hint of incomplete disclosure to remain. Therefore we cite that part of the letter from the Security Service chief to the head of government that the newspaper, in A. Korzhakov's view, concealed from readers. Virtually all that I. Savvateyeva did not quote amounts to the following:

"The creation of so-called 'nondiscriminatory' access to the pipeline capacities of the oil sector of the Russian economy (in accordance with the demands of the IBRD [International Bank for Reconstruction and Development]) means nothing less than a restriction of the freedom of the export policy of the Russian fuel and energy complex and the imposition of the IBRD's own financial agreements, which are advantageous to it but not to Russia. Recent agreements with the IBRD concerning credits channeled into Russia for the exploitation of the Ob Basin oil deposits ($500 million) and the modernization of the coal industry ($500 million) do in fact stipulate the need to use these resources for the modernization and development of raw materials storage and transportation systems."

Having studied this text, it is easy to see that by leaving it out, I. Savvateyeva was not only sparing the reader's time, she was also sparing the author of the letter, whom these words do not—to put it mildly—reveal as an expert in the economy whose knowledge in the sphere in question might give him the moral right to give any advice to a professional like V. Chernomyrdin. IBRD credits, which do not lead to the emergence of foreign ownership in Russia, are not even relevant if you want to threaten people with the old bugaboo of "selling off Russia." Moreover, it is well known that this bugaboo has not frightened the Russian authorities for a long time, since they are actively seeking to increase foreign investments. Finally, it is well known that the modernization and development of raw materials storage and transportation systems are precisely the most advantageous areas of capital investment for us. This is scarcely doubted by the oilmen, who first extract the oil, then

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pump it across the tundra through worn-out pipelines, and then try to collect it up so as to lessen the damage to the natural environment. Nor is it doubted by the miners, who are deprived of the opportunity to obtain export earnings because of excessively costly transportation.

But it is hard to believe that the author of the letter himself does not understand all this. It is too easy to glimpse behind his arguments fears not for Russia's fate, but for the privileges of the special exporters, Russia's oil monopolies.

So, let us repeat, the main question in this case is not the economic ideas of the letter-writer, but, indeed, the signature. A. Korzhakov refers to the rights that the Russian Constitution guarantees to every citizen. The general tries—to put it in his own style—"to ignore the obvious and feign incomprehension when there is much that is evident and extremely clear." This obliges us to reiterate some things that are indeed obvious. Ordinary citizens do not write letters on Presidential Security Service notepaper, do not sign themselves "chief of the service, Major General," and do not send letters through official channels. They write letters on regular paper, sign themselves "citizen so-and-so, living in such a place," and send their letters by the regular mail, after which they know very well that the chances of their being read by the premier personally are practically nil. And somehow it never enters the heads of ordinary citizens to suggest to the premier a specifically formulated instruction to the first vice premier.

No, if we are talking about freedom of speech and the right freely to receive and disseminate information, it would be apposite to recall a very different case. As already reported, ITAR-TASS commentator Tamara Zamyatina, following her article in IZVESTIYA (criticizing the "men in masks" over the incident at Moscow City Hall involving the beating up of "Most-Bank" guards), had her permanent Kremlin pass taken away by the Kremlin guard. They then refused to issue her with a one-time Kremlin pass for a meeting scheduled for her by the president's Chief of Staff S. Filatov. Finally, the guard did not let her into a press conference held by presidential aide D. Ryurikov at the press center of the conciliation commission of the Social Accord Treaty, access to which is entirely free on the basis of editorial accreditation and requires no permission. Here we are talking about the actions of the guard administration which by virtue of location, personal contacts, and nature of work should be much closer to General Korzhakov than the oil industry. That is where he should raise his voice in protest against the flouting of citizens' rights and know what he is talking about, if he really does not intend to imitate the cockroaches and do nothing (to put it in his own style again).

And finally, something that really is evident and extremely clear to everyone. General Korzhakov is close to the president not only by the nature of his everyday official duties. As B. Yeltsin writes in his recent book, he is linked to the chief of the bodyguard by personal friendship. If we recall the fuss that the American press made about liberties taken by certain friends of President Clinton at a time before he was president, then it must be admitted that A. Korzhakov's letter to the Russian head of government offers far more considerable grounds for anxiety.

When it is a question of oil—a commodity that brings in billions of dollars every year—the preservation of a system of privileges in this field, instead of equal rights for all, makes it possible for a bureaucrat to "make a millionaire" of a businessman, at his own discretion. It also gives the bureaucrat himself such opportunities for selling his favors that all talk of a struggle against corruption becomes simply laughable. An excessive interest in the preservation of this state of affairs by a man who is very far removed from this field in terms of his job, in itself appears very strange. And when that man is a very close friend of the head of state, the conclusion that suggests itself is: The author of the letter is compromising not so much himself as the president of Russia.

Authorities Investigate Moscow Bus Explosion

LD2812052794 Moscow Radiostantsiya Ekho Moskvy in Russian 0300 GMT 28 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Unknown persons blew up a number 33 bus near the All-Russian exhibition center in Moscow on Tuesday evening. There were no passengers or driver on the bus at the time of the explosion; no one was hurt, although the vehicle was badly damaged. The type of explosive device and the persons behind the act of terrorism are now under investigation.

Military Issues

START-I Reductions Seen 'Lagging'

MM1412120694 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Dec 94 p 3

[Article by Gennadiy Obolenskiy: "START-I: Should Russia 'Keep Up With' the United States?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] As already announced, the Treaty on Strategic Offensive Arms Limitation and Reduction—START-I—came into force 5 December. We would remind you that this treaty, signed 31 December 1991, envisaged reducing the number of nuclear weapons [zaryad] on deployed delivery vehicles by around 42 percent over seven years, and the number of delivery vehicles themselves (intercontinental ballistic missiles [ICBM's], submarine-launched ballistic missiles [SLBM's], and heavy bombers) by 28-36 percent. It was originally intended that these measures would begin to be implemented after the treaty came into force. However, some time ago the parties to the treaty made

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additional commitments to effect faster and deeper cuts in their arsenals than previously intended.

In this connection it is interesting to see how the work of eliminating strategic offensive arms that has already been carried out squares with the pledges made by the parties to the treaty. This is all the more important in that voices are sometimes heard in the United States saying that Russia has made far less progress than the United States in reducing strategic offensive arms. The Americans have supposedly already met the treaty's requirements virtually completely, while the Russians are allegedly lagging behind considerably. Things have reached the point where the U.S. Congress is proposing that cooperation with Russia be suspended until this has been put to rights. And all these opinions are today being voiced despite the fact that the United States and the Russian Federation are exchanging official information on this matter.

How do things really stand? According to the treaty, the categories subject to reduction are deployed delivery vehicles, i.e. launchers and their missiles (heavy bombers are regarded as combined launchers and delivery vehicles). Thus, if an ICBM or SLBM is removed from a launcher, that still does not mean that the appropriate reduction has been effected. After all, the missile that has been removed can be replaced in the launcher relatively rapidly and without particular difficulty or another one put in its place from the arsenal. Nor does standing down a heavy bomber or removal [otstykovka] of nuclear warheads from missiles constitute the reduction for which the treaty makes provision but merely a reduction in combat readiness. Therefore, practically speaking, it should only be a question of those reductions that have culminated in the irrevocable elimination of launchers and delivery vehicles themselves with their warheads [boyevaya chast]—in quantities equivalent to the launchers being cut back, moreover.

What is happening? Let us start with ICBM's. By the end of 1994 the Americans will have eliminated around 60 (6 percent) of their existing 1,000 launchers, while Russia will have eliminated around 400 out of 1,398 launchers, i.e. over 28 percent. And when it comes to assessing the progress made in fulfilling the treaty the situation will not change if someone starts talking, for instance, about the number of ICBM's stood down or even destroyed altogether since there are reserve missiles in stores. The information on this is of course important but it can only be regarded as subsidiary information, promoting confidence-building. Incidentally, I can point out that by early November Russia had already eliminated 457 ICBM's while the Americans, as far as I am aware, had not eliminated a single one. It would also be relevant to say that at present both the United States and Russia have on combat alert duty 57-58 percent of the number of ICBM's in existence when the treaty was signed.

As for SLBM's: To date Russia has eliminated 62 SLBM launchers (10 submarines). The Americans have announced that by mid-1994 they had eliminated 128 SLBM launchers (eight submarines). Given these rates one may assume that by the end of the year both sides will have eliminated roughly the same number of SLBM launchers.

Now a word about heavy bombers. Here I must point out that the United States has indeed destroyed considerably more than Russia (by mid-1994 142 heavy bombers compared with 34, or four times as many). But you must bear in mind that at the time the treaty was signed it had 3.5 times more heavy bombers than our country did (574 as opposed to 162).

Thus, the facts show that there is absolutely no reason to "reproach" Russia. Leaving aside the loaded polemics, I must acknowledge that both Russia and the United States have already considerably exceeded the threshold laid down in the treaty for the first phase of cuts designed to cover the three years after its entry into force and have indeed come close to the commitments envisaged for the second stage of cuts (covering the five years after the treaty's entry into force). But there is still tremendous work ahead, particularly if you take into consideration the additional pledges made by our countries over and above the START-I Treaty.

Federal Assembly

Abdulatipov Stresses Patience With Chechnya

LD2712135594 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1343 GMT 27 Dec 94

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow December 27 TASS—Ramazan Abdulatipov, deputy speaker of the upper chamber of the Russian parliament, claimed that talks between Russian and Chechen legislators should be conducted not for the sake of "saving Dudayev—this would be even a greater tragedy but to bring to a minimum mistakes in relations with Chechen peoples who are Russian citizens".

Speaking with journalists on Tuesday [27 December], the deputy speaker said that "it is necessary to exercise patience and not to inflict harm" on Chechnya. At the same time, he stressed that "it is impossible to come to agreement with Dudayev", but it is necessary "to conduct talks with all groups which are numerous in Chechnya".

Asked about today's meeting of the watchdog commission on organising negotiating process in Chechnya, Abdulatipov noted that the meeting "could not tackle anything, since the place and role of the parliamentary delegation in the negotiating process have not been defined".

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Troops Spokesman on Soldiers Captured by Chechens

OW2812105594 Moscow Russian Television and Dubl Networks in Russian 0010 GMT 25 Dec 94

[Interview with Colonel V.P. Zhuravel, Ministry of Interior troops spokesman, by unidentified correspondent, from the "Aty-Baty" program; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Correspondent] Nowadays, concern for servicemen and their lives and health is often mentioned. What about our boys, the servicemen who were taken prisoner and are being held prisoner in Chechnya? Tells us, please, what is being done about this, how it could have happened, and what is being done to somehow improve their lot?

[Zhuravel] I would like to say the following: On 11 December, near the Khasavyurt settlement in the Republic of Dagestan, a unit of interior troops was carrying out its task of blocking the area so as to prevent guerrillas, arms, and drugs from entering the territory of the Chechen Republic. At about 1400 that day, a rally took place, after which Dudayev supporters incited the 5,000-strong rabble present, who attacked one of the interior troops subunits. They attacked suddenly. Provocative statements were made, the servicemen were insulted, and so on and so forth. Even when armed people appeared there, local police took no action whatsoever.

Next, this is how the events unfolded: We the servicemen have been taught that the interior troops never fight with old men, women, and children, and will never do so. But what took place was a real fight. This hand-to-hand fighting continued for two hours, and as a result many servicemen were seriously wounded and 58 men [figure as heard] were taken hostage and were taken away in this region.

[Correspondent] In other words, they did not use their weapons and equipment?

[Zhuravel] Yes, the servicemen used neither their weapons nor their equipment at that time. We are talking about only hand-to-hand fighting.

[Correspondent] How many people were there in the subunit?

[Zhuravel] Fifty-eight people were kidnapped, and there were about 100 people in the subunit.

[Correspondent] So the unit numbered about 100, and the others numbered about 5,000, you say?

[Zhuravel] Yes, 5,000 people. And the most interesting thing is that when it all began, as always, and in accordance with a well-practiced technique, there were children, women, old men, and so on at the forefront. Next came the guerrillas, who entered the fight and tried to achieve their goals.

Federation Council Chairmen To Relinquish Bodyguards

LD2712214794 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Ivan Rybkin, chairman of the State Duma, has ordered that all deputy chairmen of the Federation Council should relinquish their personal bodyguards. According to INTERFAX, the State Duma chairman earlier expressed his surprise concerning the fact that the deputy chairmen of the parliament's upper chamber have bodyguards. It is known that Ivan Rybkin's deputies do not enjoy this privilege.

Regional Affairs

Militia Makes Arrests at Moscow Human Rights Rally

MM2712113994 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Dec 94 p 1

[Report by Igor Korolkov: "Well-Known Human Rights Campaigners Arrested"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On the morning of 26 December the "Memorial" Society started picketing the Russian Presidential Staff buildings on Staraya Ploshchad. It had been assumed that it was there that B. Yeltsin was chairing the Security Council session that would be discussing the Chechnya situation. The human rights campaigners were calling for an end to the war in the Caucasian republic.

Referring to the fact that the picketing had not been sanctioned by the authorities, the militia attempted to disperse the small group of people. When this proved unsuccessful, around 20 people were arrested and taken to the 46th Precinct.

Those arrested include the well-known human rights campaigners Aleksandr Laut and Aleksandr Podrabinek. Aleksandr Laut was last arrested by the militia in 1990.

Yeltsin Speech Seen as Change in 'Propaganda'

MK2712131194 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 27 Dec 94 p 1

[Report by Sergey Parkhomenko under the "Authority" rubric: "Security Council: Yeltsin Displeased with Ministers"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin opened yesterday's Security Council meeting with a statement that "the first stage involving the use of the military to carry out the Security Council decision on bringing constitutional order to Chechen territory" is drawing to a close. An ITAR-TASS correspondent also reported that "the head of the Russian state deemed actions by the defense and internal affairs ministries, the federal counterintelligence service, and the border troops... to not be bad." Unlike actions by Human

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Rights Commissioner Sergey Kovalev, which were assessed "critically" by the president. Furthermore, Boris Yeltsin expressed his confidence that the situation in Chechnya will soon "be normalized" and refugees "could return to their former homes..."

At this point the author of that report, together with his few colleagues, were ushered out of the meeting hall in accordance with a long-established tradition. This is the sole reason for the fact that news agency reports about this pivotal political event of this Monday give so few clues about the actual contents of the conversation that took place at the Security Council, its very tone, or stances taken by participants in the discussion.

SEGODNYA has full confidence in its sources, who reported that chiefs of the power agencies were subjected to an open and harsh criticism at the Security Council meeting. SEGODNYA does not dare reproduce in print the expressions used by the informants to illustrate the degree of this harshness and the level of outspokenness.

Thus, the president's announcement of the "completion" of an army operation in Chechnya should be interpreted as merely a direct order on changing the general line of the Kremlin's official propaganda. Any "provisional pullout of troops," let alone a deliberate renunciation of force as a method of resolving the conflict, is out of the question. On the contrary: Russian servicemen, who achieved glory on the Chechen battlefields, are being moved to positions prepared earlier, having worthily fulfilled the missions assigned to them by their supreme commander in chief. All this is being done under the wise guidance of valorous commanders.

Exactly so: the country's political leadership is ready to give the army command, who has demonstrated an utter lack of professionalism and inspiration, a chance to escape from a place of disgrace under the cover of a more or less acceptable propaganda formula. According to this logic, so as to make all this look more plausible, some servicemen can even be given medals or promotions ahead of time. But if the inhuman violence against the residents of Chechnya, the unreasonable destruction of Russian soldiers, and the irreparable loss of confidence in the Russian authorities can be stopped at this price, it is not too high a price.

High-ranking officials of the presidential administration and the government staff bring all information about the Security Council meeting down to one phrase: "There will be no assault." But in the same breath they add: One should not forget that there is still a decision sitting "somewhere under the frontal coronal bone" [pod lobnoy kostyu] (this is their original expression, which means, as can be easily guessed, the Security Council itself), for Groznyy to be seized at a certain stage of the operation. This decision has technically not been rescinded. The main question is actually whether the ideologists of invasion—Ministers Grachev, Yerin, Stepashin, and Yegorov—are willing to rely on the current mood of the president, who appears to be ready to absolve them from responsibility for their complete failure. Boris Yeltsin is a person known for changing his mind. So it cannot be ruled out that the generals will have yet to be persuaded to leave Chechnya.

Chechen Spokesman on Yeltsin Speech: 'Yeltsin is Ill'

LD2712163994 Moscow Radiostantsiya Ekho Moskvy in Russian 1600 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] We have just received Groznyy's first reaction to Boris Yeltsin's television speech. Movladi Udugov, Director of the Department of Information and the Press, said that among the population, including the Russian-speaking population, Yeltsin's speech is assessed as, I quote, Chernenko's report the day before his death. The complete impression is being created that Yeltsin is ill and not himself. End quote.

Movladi Udugov also said that at this moment near Argun, 10 kilometers east of Groznyy, a bloody battle is under way. He said that this is real bloody vengeance. There is one division taking part in the battle on the Russian side and people's volunteers on the Chechen side. Initially the Russian side made a powerful missile and bomb strike against Argun; dozens of houses have been destroyed and there are a considerable number of dead among the peaceful population. Udugov said that 18 Russian soldiers have been captured.

Dudayev Insists on Russian Troop Withdrawal

LD2712163394 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1600 GMT 27 Dec 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sharip Asuyev and Nikolay Zagnoiko]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Groznyy December 27 TASS—Chechen leader Dzhokhar Dudayev opposes the Monday decisions of the Russian Security Council and insists on Russian withdrawal from Chechnya.

"We propose, while there is still time, to immediately withdraw troops from the Chechen territory. The Chechen side does not want to shed blood of Russian soldiers", Dudayev told TASS on Tuesday.

His reaction to the decisions of the Russian Security Council was extremely negative. "The top Russian political leadership headed by President (Boris) Yeltsin either deliberately falsifies the events or does not know the real situation", Dudayev said adding that "the (Russian) military operation failed from the very beginning" and "Russian regular troops are demoralised". He spoke before the Russian president addressed the nation on Chechnya on Tuesday.

On Monday the Security Council stressed the need to continue efforts to disarm and eliminate illegal armed groups of Dudayev, create conditions for the restoration of law and order in Chechnya, take measures to protect the local population.

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On Tuesday the Russian president ordered to stop air raids on Groznyy which can result in casualties among civilians, but urged to complete the disarmament of Dudayev's forces.

In the meantime, Dudayev's spokesman Khasim Raduyev hinted that the Chechen leader is not going to surrender or flee the republic. "Dzhokhar Dudayev and his entourage are at the place of work. The Chechen leadership has not created any privileged shelters for itself and is ready to share the fate of its people", he told TASS.

Raduyev denied reports that the defence of the presidential palace in Groznyy had been reinforced with tanks and "Grad" rocket launchers.

On Tuesday it was relatively calm in Groznyy. Many kiosks resumed work and mini-marketplaces opened. People began to leave their shelters in the basements of buildings where they stay without electricity and water. Local authorities began to assess the damage inflicted by air raids.

The headquarters of Dudayev's forces told TASS that on Monday Chechen fighters had seized a car with a Russian officer and a soldier in the Petropavlovskoe-Argun area. The officer was allowed to contact his mother by telephone, the headquarters said.

According to the headquarters, air strikes were delivered on mountain villages Ulus-Kerk, Chikshi and Duba-Yurt late on Monday. They said there were only Russian refugees from Groznyy and no armed men in the villages.

Daghestan Council Balks After 'Second Front' Urged

LD2712171394 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1700 GMT 27 Dec 94

[Quotation marks as received]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow December 27 TASS— The press service of the Russian Government sent the following report to ITAR-TASS today:

"According to military intelligence, Dudayev met leaders of the Chechen National Council of Dagestan on December 25, 1994. The leaders demanded to free the captured interior troopers but faced a refusal.

In his turn, Dudayev demanded to immediately open the "second front" in the rear of the Russian troops. After the meeting, leaders of the Chechen National Council decided to stop any contacts with Dudayev. They said that 'it is inadmissible to kindle fire in Dagestan'".

Official Discusses Split in 'Dudayev's Team'

LD2712180994 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1754 GMT 27 Dec 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Shtorkh]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow December 27 TASS— A presidential aide expressed scepticism about prospects of a dialogue between Moscow and Groznyy because he doubts that Chechen rebel leader Dzhokhar Dudayev will be allowed to get down to talks with Russia by his hard-line entourage.

"Even if Dudayev tried to show peaceful intentions he would be denied such a possibility by radically-minded representatives of his close entourage", Georgiy Satarov told TASS on Tuesday adding that, according to his data, the Dudayev's team is split about the necessity of negotiations with Moscow and the opponents of a political dialogue are ready to do everthing possible to impede talks.

Satarov said that the Tuesday address of the Russian president "clearly sets the course at searching a political solution" of the conflict. "The head of state noted, in particular, that it is necessary to look for political means of settling the Chechen crisis although the current leadership of Chechnya has different goals", Satarov said.

Pain Believes Chechnya 'Confederation' Possible

LD2712191094 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1835 GMT 27 Dec 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Belskiy]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow December 27 TASS— An aide of Russian President Boris Yeltsin made it understood on Tuesday that if Russia wants talks with Chechen separatist leader Dzhokhar Dudayev it might have to cede to a certain extent to the Chechen independence bid by agreeing to establish confederative relations with Groznyy.

"It is too late to stick to the framework of the (Russian) Federation at talks with Chechnya. This was real a couple of months ago", Emil Pain, a member of the Presidential Council, told a "round table" discussion in the Russian public and political centre on Tuesday.

"Now we shall have to accept as a condition of a political settlement the possible proposal of the Chechen side about confederative relations with the centre (in Moscow)", he said and added that today it is impossible to ignore "the Dudayev factor", as well as a "possible change in the status of the Chechen Republic within the Russian Federation".

"Those who think that a political settlement today is possible without Dzhokhar Dudayev is deeply mistaken", Pain said.

He was backed by Vladimir Lysenko, State Duma member from the republican party who said that "the possibility of confederative relations between Chechnya and the centre is not the worst variant, but a real compromise".

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Paine's and Lysenko's confederative ideas clearly contradict the Russian Constitution which says that Russia is a federative state.

Dudayev Asks Turkey for Help, Missiles

LD2712195494 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 27 Dec 94

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] We have a video recording of an interview that Dzhokar Dudayev gave to a Turkish journalist.

[Begin Dudayev recording, in Chechen or Turkish, with superimposed Russian translation] Moscow is not only bombing, but has also aimed heavy nuclear missiles at us. You should give us aid from Turkey, help us with missiles against their aircraft; let them fight against Russian aircraft. Send a squadron of aircraft to Azerbaijan. Who are you afraid of? The Russians? There are only 1 million of us and 150 million of them, and we are not afraid. We will fight even if other Muslims do not support us. Allah will help us.

You have large long-range aircraft. Give them to us and we will bomb Moscow. They are bombing Groznyy and we can bomb Moscow, we have the right to.

Give me a few aircraft that can fly as far as Moscow and I will carry out the attack myself. [end recording]

[Unidentified correspondent] He is saying here that heavy missiles are aimed at Groznyy, or that they are being used there and that the Air Force virtually intends to drop nuclear bombs. What is your opinion of this interview from the military viewpoint?

[Begin A. Malyukov recording, chief of Main Staff of the Air Force] Even theoretically missiles of this class are not used in such a situation, and the Air Force, naturally, of course, has not used such missiles. As far as the second part is concerned, where he spoke of another country's aircraft flying in and helping Dzhokar, personally, to make an attack on Moscow, I think that both from the political viewpoint, in the first instance, and from the military viewpoint, with regard to aviation matters, practical matters needed to carry out such an action—that is something impossible in present conditions—for the aircraft of another state to fight on the territory of another against...[pauses] Therefore, I regard this as a desire to draw neighboring countries into this situation. But I do not think that this operation, this action, will be crowned with success. [end recording]

Chechens Note Bombardment Near Atagiy

LD2712210194 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2014 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 27 (Interfax)—The positions of Dudayev's forces near the villages Atagiy, Chishkiy and Chiriy-Yurt located about 30-40 kilometers from Groznyy were bombed Tuesday [27 December] afternoon, Chechen Deputy Foreign Minister Ruslan Chimayev told Interfax citing his telephone conversation with Chechen Foreign Minister Shamsedin Yusef.

Commenting on Boris Yeltsin's televised statement, Chimayev said: "It is clear that the Russian president does not want to give up his intentions and pull out troops. However, a military victory over the small Chechen republic will not bring Russia much glory."

Shakhray To Head Information Commission

LD2712175294 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1737 GMT 27 Dec 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Shtorkh]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow December 27 TASS—A new government commission is being created to provide "full information to the Russian and world public on the situation in Chechnya" and Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray is to head it, TASS learned from informed sources in the Russian Government on Tuesday.

Shakhray used to be responsible for Chechnya before he was replaced by Nikolay Yegorov, who is now the presidential envoy to the rebel republic and a deputy prime minister.

Shakhray will thus become the third official to provide information on Chechen developments. Initially, Information Minister Sergey Gryzunov was repsonsible for it, but was releived of the task after the work of his provisional information centre was assessed as unsatisfactory.

The task was then entrusted to Government Spokesman Valentin Sergeyev. He will become Shakhray's deputy in the new special information-analytical commission. The provisional information centre will be abolished and all its bodies will be subordinated to Sergeyev.

The same sources told TASS that the new commission will not act as a censor. Its only task is to ensure that the official government information reaches the public.

The instructions of the new commission will be obligatory for state-run news agencies, TV and radio companies. Besides, the defence, interior, emergency ministries and the federal counterintelligence service will be obliged to follow the instructions of the special commission in their relations with reporters working in Chechnya and North Caucasus.

The decision to create the new commission will come in the form of a government resolution which would also abolish the provisional information centre, the source said adding that all ministries engaged in the Chechen settlement were instructed to supply everyday information to it.

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Shakhray Discusses Chechnya Issues

MM2712172594 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Dec 94 First Edition pp 1-2

[Article by Sergey Shakhray: "There Are No 'Zero Options' In History. What Had Been So Feared Has Come To Pass—the Crisis in the Chechen Republic Has Moved From Chronic to Acute"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The federal authorities have used force to restore constitutionality and law and order. But force is an instrument which is of use only when applied quickly, precisely, and with the minimum of losses. In the context of today's universal collapse and an absence of coordination or our former ability to "work out our moves" more than one step in advance, the development of events in the Chechen Republic could lead not merely to a final crisis of power and a constitutional crisis in the Russian Federation, but also to "geopolitical repercussions" which would wipe Russia from the map of the world as an independent component of history.

When politics moves into military action it is hard to make decisions—not even the best of constitutions is worth the "tears of a child." But not making any decisions and avoiding responsibility would be a crime too. I very much understand certain analysts who would like to return to the "zero option" of 1991—to act as if Dzhokhar Dudayev had not been elected and to return authority to the former Chechen-Ingush parliament.... It is a lovely idea, but to make it a pure experiment Yeltsin would have to be returned to a tank, Khasbulatov to the White House, and Zavgayev to Chechnya.

Unfortunately, there are no "zero options" in history. Ahead lies 1995, behind us are three years of Chechen crisis. And today we need to honestly make a diagnosis and urgently decide which of the possible solutions is the least dangerous. [passage omitted]

What Should Be Done Now?

Under Article 114 of the Russian Federation Constitution the government is obliged to use all the means at the state's disposal to ensure state security, legality, the rights and freedoms of the citizen, protection of public order, the fight against crime, and the disarmament of all illegal armed formations. Officers and men from combined units of the Russian Federation Defense Ministry and the Russian Federation Ministry of Internal affairs, and staffers from the Federal Counterintelligence Service are doing their duty in accordance with the law to resolve the conflict in the Chechen Republic and are protected by the Constitution and laws of the Russian Federation.

Let us put to one side the emotive discussion of both the federal authorities' choice of scenario for a strong-arm solution to the conflict, and of the way in which it is being enforced. Although, the more powerfully weapons are used, the weaker the Russian state looks. It is the inability to make effective use of special subunits and materiel that is forcing us to use significant military subunits. In terms of its consequences the "lesser evil" among all the possible options for the further development of events is the one which presupposes combining strong-arm methods to "demilitarize" Chechen territory and end the activity of illegal armed formations with active efforts to reach a political settlement to the crisis in the Chechen Republic.

The situation currently prevailing in the Chechen Republic shows that a settlement to the crisis will not come about overnight. Further action by the federal authorities could be based on the parallel implementation of ranges of strategic and tactical measures that go through at least three stages of development. Real and specific tasks should be gradually resolved at each stage.

In the first stage Chechen Republic territory should be demilitarized by confiscating and destroying heavy weapons and ending the activity of illegal armed formations. To avoid any excess casualties, talks with Dudayev and other "field commanders" on the disarmament procedures will be possible. Such talks will not be political, they will resemble talks with terrorists that have seized a busload of children—except that instead of the bus the terrorists are holding hostage the population of an entire republic.

The algorithm of this process will be the creation and expansion of demilitarized zones and the utilization of the mechanism, understood by the population, of "offsetting" heavy weapons (withdrawing a tank for a voluntarily destroyed Chechen tank, and so forth) supervised by commissions formed from elders, State Duma deputies, and any other public representatives, including journalists.

We also need to confiscate or at least buy up the population's firearms.

At the same time the process of restoring legality on the republic's federally controlled territory should be pursued. We need to open the railroad and ensure safe traffic along it. Because, without rail traffic passing through Chechnya, the threat of starvation in Dagestan and the Transcaucasian republics becomes real.

At the next stage we should implement a gradual transition toward stabilizing the situation and normalizing life in the federally controlled parts of the Chechen Republic. In order to carry out this task it will be necessary to fully implement priority measures to safeguard the lives of the population and to restore the socioeconomic sphere.

At the same time administrative organs for the transitional period should be set up on the territorial principle (including territorial organs of federal executive organs on Chechen Republic territory), and the process of reviving organs of local self-government in the Chechen Republic should be begun. A People's (Public) Chamber

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of the Chechen Republic could be set up as the component in the political dialogue representing the opinions of the entire Chechen people. Since the remnants of governability, authority, and order have currently been preserved in Chechnya only at local level, it would be expedient to carry out the formation of the Chechen Republic People's Chamber on the basis of representation for population centers, including religious and sociopolitical figures as well as representatives of the Chechen diaspora in Russia.

The other side in the political dialogue could be the Russian Federation president's Conciliation Commission To Settle the Crisis in the Chechen Republic, set up in accordance with Article 85 of the Russian Federation Constitution. In this instance it would not be a question of setting up yet another supervisory organ with incomprehensible functions and a clear tendency to monopolize controls over executive organs.

Article 85 of the Russian Constitution deals not with the creation of structures but with the initiation by the Russian Federation president, as head of state and arbiter, of conciliation procedures in the event of differences emerging both between the federal branches of power and between Federation organs and its components. At certain crucial stages, the commission—which will define the procedure and technique for dialogue between representatives of the Chechen people, federal organs of power, and regions neighboring Chechnya—could be headed by the Russian premier.

The Conciliation Commission together with a delegation from the People's (Public) Chamber should at their working group sessions elaborate mutually acceptable forms of finally resolving the crisis in the Chechen Republic.

At the final, third stage of resolving the crisis in the Chechen Republic, people's power should finally be restored there and constitutional organs of power set up. At this stage the People's (Public) Chamber together with the Conciliation Commission will draw up the draft of a new Chechen Republic Constitution. Elections for organs of power in the republic and for Chechen Republic deputies to the Russian Federation Federal Assembly will be held, as will a referendum on the Chechen Republic Constitution.

And only, if necessary, as the final act in the development of events might a treaty be drawn up demarcating jurisdiction and powers between federal organs of state power and Chechen Republic organs of power.

Against the backdrop of today's continuing bloodshed in the Chechen Republic this plan looks rather cold and impossible to implement overnight. Strong-arm methods are never enough in themselves. They are only a means to an end. If we have decided to take drastic steps, we must also have the determination to do the doggedly crucial political work to reach a final settlement of the crisis situation.

Of course, instead of more routine measures we could fall back on a couple of "all-out efforts"—launching new "missile and bombing strikes" (which would not decide who is right and wrong) or, on the contrary, completely withdrawing our troops and cutting ourselves off from Chechnya with a "cordon sanitaire." And nobody will be worried either by the future collapse of the ruble and regional budget separatism, or by criminal divisions of zones of influence in the major cities of Russia when the weakened "Chechen mafia" is ousted by other clans from the oil refining and defense production sectors.

Maybe someone else—even better, our descendants—should resolve the problems which will result from the final collapse of the Federation, the closure of the Black Sea straits, the loss of ports, the Navy, transport routes, and oil pipelines, from the catastrophic growth in ethnically motivated conflicts, and from the creation of a plethora of "ephemeral states" on the territory of a great country, of which probably only a sovereign rump within the borders of the Moscow Principality will remain. And no more than that.

Chechnya 'First Stage' Receives Criticism

MM2812095794 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Dec 94 p 1

[Report by Valeriy Yakov: "'Our Military Formations Have Worked Well'—This Was the Russian President's Assessment of the Bloody Results of the Operation in Chechnya"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Recently Groznyy resembles a city destroyed during the years of the last war. This is being said by veterans who avoided the fascist bullet in that war in 1945 and who 50 years later have miraculously avoided the Russian bombs in this war. But whereas Victory Day was a festival for the whole Soviet people, the success of the "first stage" of the present campaign has elicited a feeling of profound satisfaction only in its organizers.

According to the plainly obsolete generalized data which the authorities have ventured to publish, the Russian military subunits have lost 44 men killed in two weeks of fighting in Chechnya. Precisely 116 fighters have been injured, and 59 taken prisoner. Dozens of units of hardware and several helicopters have been knocked out and burned....

Among the things the authorities have forgotten to make public, let us remind you that many soldiers on the forward line suffered frostbite because they were thrown into a winter campaign without warm underwear, without a supply of hot food, and without heating points having been set up. In the end, representatives of the internal troops even asked staffers of the Ministry for Affairs of Civil Defense, Emergency Situations, and Elimination of Natural Disasters to assist those who are on the forward line—with warm clothes, mittens, chocolate, and cigarettes. In Stavropol and Krasnodar Krays,

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according to our information, people have now set about collecting this aid together in order to at least somehow lighten daily life in the trenches for servicemen thoughtlessly thrown by Kremlin commanders into the snowy foothills of the Caucasus.

Let us also remind you that there have been serious exchanges of fire between...our own men owing to uncoordinated actions, the absence of normal communications, and the huge number of generals, each one of whom has striven to make his own contribution to a historic victory. And also owing to the overt rivalry among the power departments and to the overall civilian leadership on the part of the minister for nationalities affairs, who, to all appearances, prefers to resolve acute national problems by means of "pinpoint" bombing and troop operations.

I would very much like to remind you also of the losses of the "enemy," who simultaneously features in the ranks of our own fellow citizens. Unfortunately, precise figures are not known—the federal authorities do not bother with them. But even according to the scrappy information forwarded from Chechnya by journalists, which Sergey Kovalev has reported, it is becoming clear that dozens of children have been killed as a result of Russian bombing raids and shelling. Hundreds of peaceful residents have died. Thousands have been injured. Hundreds of thousands have become refugees.

A recent report by the power departments' mouthpiece—the government press center—even reported with undisguised triumphant euphoria that 1,000 people had been killed in the assault on the city of Argun. Fortunately, the press center had once again been lying. Precisely 27 people were killed.

The Kremlin commanders finally heeded the voice of Sergey Kovalev from besieged Groznyy but arrogantly called his desperate appeals "sobbing." At the same time Kovalev's proposals for urgent talks once again passed without comment. He himself has met repeatedly with D. Dudayev, and before the last Security Council session he enlisted Dudayev's consent to talks with any high-ranking representative of Russia, with the exception of S. Stepashin, hero of the November provocation concerning the storming of Groznyy, and N. Yegorov, minister in camouflage. Dudayev is prepared to give up the prisoners to their mothers, to halt the firing, to halt the movements of groups of gunmen, and to discuss the talks agenda. Kovalev reported this to the Security Council members. As though answering him, the authorities started speaking of possible talks with some mysterious "government of national revival" probably set up according to Moscow's blueprints. Mr. Yegorov simply called for the storming of Groznyy.

The results of the first stage have been summed up. The Caucasus is seething. Society is split. Dudayev is in favor. The Army is demoralized. In the runup to the new year families are receiving news of the death of a loved one. For the authorities this is called a success. But what, then, is to be deemed a failure?

Most importantly, what does the second stage hold in store for us?

Presidential Council Appeals to Yeltsin

MK2812084694 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 28 Dec 94 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Presidential Council Members' Opinion May Be Heard"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Nearly a third of the 28 members of the Presidential Council have signed an appeal to Boris Yeltsin demanding that a special sitting be held to discuss the situation in Chechnya. Yesterday, a sitting of the Presidential Council chaired by Sergey Filatov was held which also discussed the situation in Chechnya. Oleg Lobov told the sitting about the decisions made by the Security Council at its meeting the previous day. In the words of Presidential Council member Otto Latsis, the matter was being considered in "an unusually sharp form," and Sergey Filatov promised "to bring to the president's attention the verbatim record of the sitting." According to Mr. Latsis, Mr. Filatov "has never before" given such promises to members of the Council, and "the powers that be have never accepted our proposals and research data, but we have not lost hope that this time our opinion will be heard."

Press Center on Role of 'Islamic Factor'

MM2812093394 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Dec 94 p 3

[Report by Vadim Markushin: "Islamic World Repeats Other People's Mistakes"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A recent briefing at the Russian Federation Presidential Staff Press Center was devoted to the international aspect of the Chechen crisis, and primarily to the role of the Islamic factor in it. Dmitriy Ryurikov, assistant to the Russian Federation president for international affairs, set out the official Russian position on this problem.

From the outset, he said, the world community quite clearly decided on its attitude toward what is taking place in Chechnya, refusing Dzhokhar Dudayev international recognition of the "national liberation movement" headed by him. This position can easily be explained: The regime in Groznyy does not meet one of the criteria by which people usually judge whether it deserves to be recognized. Dudayev's regime is not law-abiding as regards the observance of existing international legal norms. It does not respect its own citizens' rights or other countries' rights.

Meanwhile, Ryurikov noted, many states are now expressing concern over the development of events in Chechnya and around it. This is well understood by the

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Russian leadership, which is trying to do all it can to stop the bloodshed. At the same time Moscow, for its part, cannot fail to observe the manifestations of obvious inconsistency in some official statements. This primarily concerns the Islamic Conference Organization. On the one hand this forum condemns terrorism and Islamic extremism. On the other hand it expresses solidarity with the Groznyy regime. The contradiction here is indisputable.

The lack of understanding being shown by leaders of the Islamic world is in fact leading to the creation of an ideological breeding ground for the gunmen's actions, the Russian Federation president's assistant said. This harmful practice is well known in Russia, we have already gone through all this in the Soviet period. At that time Moscow was itself not slow to give financial aid to anybody starting out on the "revolutionary path." Some guards captain had only to organize a palace coup and declare himself a follower of Marxism-Leninism and the Kremlin started sending him money.

According to available data, Ryurikov said, major monetary resources are already being collected in certain countries with Islamic traditions with the aim of using them to put together formations of armed legionnaires [formirovaniya boyevikov-legionerov]. The president's assistant did not say exactly which countries he was referring to. But he did make the observation that the competent Russian organs will not sit back in the face of this kind of interference in the Chechen conflict, which is Russia's internal affair. In particular, additional measures are already being taken to strengthen the border regime in the relevant sectors. At the same time the leaders of a number of countries in this region have given their assurance that they will not allow border violations from their side by illegal formations. It is time to exclude from international life the actions of extremist mercenaries acting under the Islamic flag, the Russian president's assistant said.

Chechen 'Foreign Minister' on 'Honest' Talks

LD2812093894 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0932 GMT 28 Dec 94x

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sharip Asuyev and Nikolay Zagnoyko]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Groznyy December 28 TASS—"The Chechen problem must be resolved not through escalation of combat activities within a short period of time but through honest, full- scale talks," Chechnya's Minister of Foreign Affairs Shamsedin Yusef said in an interview with ITAR-TASS today.

The minister stressed that Chechnya was "a sovereign state".

As is known, this is not the republic's status under the Constitution of the Russian Federation.

Deputies Voice Support for Action in Chechnya

MM2812113994 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Dec 94 First Edition pp 1-2

[Report by Valentin Maslennikov: "Don't Blame the Horse, Blame the Road. State Duma Deputies On Events in Chechnya"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Vasiliy Lipitskiy, cochairman of the Russian Social Democratic Union:

"The Chechnya conflict has now become a sore point in the public mind, because there are not and cannot be any normal people who would want to see a war take place. Nonetheless, in assessing these events I believe that we must work on the basis of three main points.

"First, everyone should clearly recognize that the Chechen Republic is part of the Russian Federation. Whatever people's attitude may be toward the Russian authorities' actions, in moral terms I believe that it is quite hard to criticize those actions either legally or judicially. There can be no question of any invasion or occupation.

"Second, it should not be forgotten that the Chechen Republic has recently become a permanent source of lawlessness. This also applies to the internal situation in the republic and to the role which it has started to play in other parts of the Russian Federation, including the capital.

"Everyone feels bad when someone is killed in Chechnya. But do we feel any less bad when murder and lawlessness are perpetrated beyond Chechnya's borders at the behest of the Dudayev regime? Don't we also feel bad about the fact that at least 200,000 people have been forced to quit their homes and everything they have built up over their lives, and leave for the unknown? After all, their fate has not yet been decided.

"Third, we must not tolerate the fact that in this complex situation representatives of our power structures and representatives of the Army and the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], who are currently carrying out their orders in Chechnya, are being portrayed as extremists.

"I see this as a continuation of the policy of discrediting the Army. After all, whatever the Army has done recently its actions have been called mistaken. This gives professionals an inferiority complex, a guilt complex.

"And this is being done by the very same politicians who until quite recently had been bemoaning at rallies the Army's loss of its defense capability."

Stepan Sulakshin, deputy chairman of the Republican Party of Russia:

"I do not share the hysterical sentiments of certain politicians who have been unilaterally interpreting events in the Chechen Republic and making mistaken assessments of the action undertaken. I am very annoyed about the activity of human rights envoy S. Kovalev,

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who is looking for culprits for the events in one area only—the Russian state. I do not understand how you can appeal to the United Nations and talk about human rights while sitting in Dudayev's bunker. In the bunker of the very general who is throwing unprotected civilians into the fire and inciting them to throw themselves under tank tracks and in front of bullets. This is not where Sergey Adamovich should be looking for violations of human rights.

"The impermissible behavior of some of our politicians is having a demoralizing effect on the Army and diverting it from its direct and sacred duty of carrying out the state's orders. As if the Army had turned into a subject of independent political activity as a result of being harried and shaken up.

"I am very critical of our executive's activity because of its unprofessionalism and clumsiness. But I in no way intend to transpose this assessment to the actions of the authorities when they do their duty, upholding the Constitution and the rights of their citizens (both Chechens and Russians) on Chechen Republic territory, and I call on others to do likewise.

"Certain activists who have hastily criticized the authorities' actions are for some reason failing to realize that armed formations from states beyond our borders—Azerbaijan, Abkhazia, and Afghanistan—are already operating on Russian Federation territory. We can already talk about armed outside aggression on Russian territory."

Yuriy Sokolov, member of the Agrarian Party of Russia faction:

"The events in Chechnya are a natural result of the fact that our executive authorities have failed to implement the Congress of People's Deputies decree on the illegality of the elections in the Chechen Republic. That is why the problem has had to be resolved by force. Sad though it is to admit, the government and the president had no means other than force available to them.

"We all wholeheartedly advocate a peaceful solution, but we need to recognize that Dudayev will not undertake to disarm his formations under any circumstances. It is already too late for a peaceful solution. Consequently, I support the insistent position of our president. The conflict needs to be brought to its logical conclusion and constitutional authority needs to be restored in Chechnya. The faster this is done, the fewer casualties there will be. And it is not inexperienced boys we should be sending in but professionals. There would be less bloodshed, and the results would be achieved more quickly.

"In the president's place I would try to take a step to meet the other side halfway. I would go there myself. There is no time for ambition now. Nor any time for concessions. The conditions for the talks must be very tough—as they are now. But the first to extend their hand should be the stronger—namely, Russia.

"The new year is approaching. We would like the president together with Chernomyrdin and Yegorov to do everything necessary in the immediate future to stop this slaughter rather than continuing the conflict into 1995."

Irina Khakamada:

"I do not want to discuss how correct it was to send troops into Chechnya. I think that anything that can be resolved peacefully should be. But it is a fact that hostilities have begun. This means that we need to decide how to end them more quickly. Continuing to bomb Groznyy would mean multiplying the number of casualties. Ceasing fire and withdrawing the troops—as opposition forces are proposing—would mean discrediting our statehood. Neither option is suitable. This means that we need to seek a third option. And, to this end, we need to decide just what we actually want.

"Do we want to prevent Russia collapsing? Of course. But to this end we must finally determine the status of Chechnya to prevent it being the first link in a chain reaction.

"I think that the initial, military, steps in the talks should be immediately followed by political and economic steps. These will reinforce the results achieved."

General on Increase of MVD Troops in Moscow

MM2812130494 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Dec 94 p 1

[Report by Aleksandr Golovenko: "The General Inspires Fear..."]

[FBIS Translated Text] In connection with the events in Chechnya, rumors have been circulating for weeks about the inevitable imposition of a state of emergency in the capital, and then countrywide. In an interview for MTK television on 26 December, General Baskayev, commander of the Russian MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Internal Troops Moscow District, announced a piece of news that caused a stir among the public: New internal troop units are being set up in Moscow—to combat crime. According to him, this measure is based on the well-known presidential edict.

For some of our readers this conjured up vivid pictures of soldiers sitting on top of armored personnel carriers firing their automatic weapons at fleeing racketeers and rapists. "Could this innovation be a mere cover for preparations for a state of emergency?"—that anxious question was the theme of many of yesterday's calls to the editorial office. At the Internal Troops Moscow District headquarters, we managed to contact Gennadiy Lukashchuk, senior officer in the personnel section. He said:

"An internal troops unit has been in operation in Moscow since 1966; it is engaged in protecting public order. You can see these soldiers, wearing militia uniforms, at stations, on the streets, and at mass events.

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"It is true that an enlarged session of the Military Council was held at the Internal Troops Moscow District headquarters; leaders of 16 oblasts, chiefs of internal affairs administrations, and the Moscow City administration were invited. Measures to implement the president's edict on increasing the numerical strength of internal troops in order to strengthen the protection of law and order were discussed.

"New mobile specialized motorized internal troop units of internal troops in militia uniform are expected to be created in Moscow in the near future. Their main duty will be to provide assistance to internal affairs staffers in carrying out patrol and point duty and combating street crime and organized crime. These subunits will be solely operationally subordinate (for the duration of the task in hand) to territorial militia organs."

[Golovenko] Readers are worried about whether they will have armored vehicles.

[Lukashchuk] According to published statistics, every day in the capital about 10 murders are committed, there are three or four explosions, and shoot-outs have ceased to cause a sensation. Naturally the servicemen must have means of protection: flak jackets, shields, helmets, and if necessary standard-issue weapons. As for armored vehicles, they are not likely to be issued to these units. Let me note that they certainly could not be a decisive force in enforcing a state of emergency. I think PRAVDA's readers need have no concern in this connection, there is no reason to panic. Most likely they will get a good idea of the status of our troops if I say that they have not taken part in punitive operations: neither 3-4 October 1993, nor in the Karabakh events, nor in today's Chechen events. [Lukashchuk ends]

Well, as the saying goes, we shall see. I would like to believe Lieutenant Colonel G. Lukashchuk's words, but nobody has yet dispelled our anxiety about the imposition of a state of emergency.

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International Affairs

Appeal to Duma, RF Council on Chechnya

954F0723A Donetsk DONBASS in Russian 23 Dec 94 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Stop the Mechanism of War!—Ukrainian Supreme Council Appeal to the State Duma and Federation Council of Russia With Regard to the Tragic Events in the Chechen Republic"]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to reports in the mass media, particularly the Russian mass media, combat operations are being waged in the Chechen Republic with the use of heavy weapons. This is leading to massive casualties and suffering among the civilian population.

In addition to other peoples, our fellow citizens—Ukrainians who reside in Chechnya—are finding themselves caught in this tragic situation. Greatly alarmed at their fate, we appeal to you to take all possible measures to put an end to the bloodshed. We are also alarmed at the prospect that attempts to settle the problem through means of force and use of weapons may not only lead to a deepening of the conflict, but may also have a negative influence on security in the region and throughout the world.

Having no doubts as to the Russian people's devotion to democratic values, we call upon you to do everything in your power to see to it that the high standards of individual rights and freedoms affixed in international pacts, the need for observance of which has repeatedly been emphasized by the Russian leadership, be applied as well to the peoples indigenous to the Caucasus. We are hoping that the bloodshed and deprivation of the sacred human right to life will cease, and that the conflict in this region will be settled through political means.

Adopted at the 20 December 1994 Supreme Council plenary session.

Ukrainian Casualties in Chechnya Denied

LD2712162994 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1430 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev—"Despite the many statements by the Russian mass media on the deaths of Ukrainian volunteers in Chechnya or that they have been taken captive, not a single case has yet been registered", Vadym Dolganov, an adviser to the Ukrainian Embassy in Russia, said at a briefing at Ukraine's Foreign Ministry on 27 December. He said that the embassy is constantly monitoring the issue and that if there are some real facts this will be announced on an official level. So far, there have not been any such announcements by the Russian side.

With regard to the recent "chauvinistic expressions" by Yuriy Luzhkov in Sevastopol, in the view of Vadym Dolganov, this was nothing but a propaganda stunt by means of which the mayor of Moscow was attempting to gain some cheap political capital.

Colonel Details Hardships, Battalion Tasks in Bosnia

AU2712153694 Kiev MOLOD UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 23 Dec 94 p 1

[Interview with Colonel Yuriy Sklyar, commander of Ukraine's Armed Forces Separate Special Battalion No. 240 within UNPROFOR, by Captain Ihor Melnychuk, officer of Ukraine's Defense Ministry Press Service, 'special' for MOLOD UKRAYINY from Sarajevo; place and date not given: "The Blockade Has Been Lifted From Ukrainian Checkpoints. Provocations Continue...."]

[FBIS Translated Text] **Almost all of us are concerned about the fate of the 1,132 Ukrainian servicemen within the multinational UN Peacekeeping Force (UNPROFOR) in the former Yugoslavia. Despite the constant danger, excessive work load, difficult conditions, and losses, not only do Ukraine's representatives in that foreign and poorly understood war help to write off our country's debts to the United Nations, but also contribute to the young state's prestige in the world. By their decisive actions and brilliant fulfillment of UNPROFOR tasks, our soldiers and officers have added up to their own prestige and to that of Ukraine, which sent them there.**

Meanwhile, recent reports from the Balkan Peninsula have not been encouraging. At the beginning of December, the personnel of one of the checkpoints of the 60th separate special battalion under the command of Colonel Mykola Shpanko were held hostage for five days. More than 30 of our boys were held by Bosnian Serbs at weapons and technology dumps near Sarajevo. On 18 December, the headquarters of separate special battalion No. 240 and a maintenance subdivision, which are deployed in the former Tito barracks in Sarajevo, were fired on.

In order to find out about the situation in the zone, guarded by the battalion, and about the tasks being resolved by our "blue helmets," the press service of Ukraine's Ministry of Defense got through to Colonel Yuriy Sklyar, commander of Ukraine's Armed Forces Separate Special Battalion No. 240 within UNPROFOR.

[Melnychuk] Yuriy Ivanovych, please brief us on the general situation.

[Sklyar] In short, it has more or less normalized. A few days ago, the blockade was lifted from our control stations in Ilijas and Krivoglavci, where Serbian weapons and technology are stored. We visited those stations, replaced people there, and replenished their food supplies. The situation in the Muslim enclaves of Gorazde and Zepa, where the second and third special companies are deployed, has also normalized. Therefore, the tension has somewhat diminished.

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[Melnychuk] You were fired upon on 18 December.

[Sklyar] Yes. Unfortunately, provocations against Ukrainian Battalion-1 do not cease. Explosions may be heard around the Tito barracks. On 18 December at 1210, our headquarters was fired on with mortars. Mines exploded close to the building and one of them—at the third floor.

Fortunately, there were no casualties. We take the necessary precaution measures, and in case of danger, everyone goes to special shelters.

[Melnychuk] From which side was the fire—Serbian or Muslim?

[Sklyar] It is hard to say precisely. One can easily make a mistake. In most cases, an ordinary street or a block of houses constitute demarcation lines between the warring sides in Sarajevo. Often, adversaries infiltrate to the other side in order to make provocations. That is why UN military observers must assess the incident. Only after that one of the sides may be held responsible.

[Melnychuk] What are the tasks of the personnel of Ukrainian Battalion-1?

[Sklyar] Like before, soldiers and officers of the battalion guard storages of weapons and technology, surrendered by the warring sides, in accordance with the cease-fire agreement. We secure the cease-fire zone in Gorazde and Zepa. Besides, our subdivisions go on anti-sniper missions on a daily basis and also ensure the safety of repairs brigades, which restore train and tram rails and repair water pipes and gas pipes in the town.

[Melnychuk] What else keeps the battalion going?

[Sklyar] Recently, we had a "medals parade." This is a whole ritual. UN special medals "For Peace Service" were handed to 112 servicemen, who spent more than three months here and faultlessly fulfilled all the tasks.

General Herve Gobilliard, French commander of the Sarajevo sector, was present at the festivities. He was pleasantly surprised by the performance and training of our soldiers. He pointed out that Ukrainian peacekeepers serve with dignity in the UN troops. They conscientiously fulfill the most difficult tasks. For that, we received gratitude from the command.

Besides, we are getting ready for the next rotation in the personnel that is expected at the end of January—beginning of December [month as published] of next year.

Belarus Delegation, Kuchma Discuss Cooperation

LD2712201694 Kiev UT-1 Television Network in Ukrainian 1700 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] A parliamentary delegation from Belarus, led by Supreme Council Chairman Myacheslaw Hryb, is continuing its visit to Ukraine. Today, the delegation was received by President Leonid Kuchma.

[Correspondent] Having shared information about the political and economic situation in both countries, which was mutually regarded as very similar in main respects, Leonid Kuchma and Myacheslaw Hryb discussed key problems concerning the improvement of bilateral relations, particularly economic cooperation. The discussion primarily concerned the urgent need to improve the customs situation and payments for trade deals. The two men exchanged views on problems of power-sharing and coordination of efforts to eliminate the aftermath of the accident at Chernobyl AES. The meeting was attended by members of the parliamentary delegation from Belarus, Deputy Chairman of Ukraine's Supreme Council Oleh Dyomin, Ukrainian Minister of Foreign Affairs Hennadiy Udovenko, and other officials.

Myacheslaw Hryb and members of the Belarusian delegation met Oleksandr Moroz, chairman of Ukraine's Supreme Council. The two speakers agreed to put an end to a period of so-called passive cooperation between the two countries. Oleksandr Moroz backed the idea with a proposal of frequent exchanges between the legislatures at the level of parliamentary commissions. The speaker of the Belarusian parliament suggested several priorities for bilateral cooperation, mainly concerning the political sphere. These included stepping up the preparation of a friendship and cooperation treaty, coordination of efforts to eliminate the aftermath of the Chernobyl disaster and cooperation in science and technology. Agreeing with these priorities, Mr. Moroz urged the removal of all unreasonable restrictions, first of all in the customs. Mr. Hryb invited Oleksandr Moroz to pay an official visit to the Republic of Belarus. The invitation was gratefully accepted.

Myacheslaw Hryb addressed a session of the Ukrainian parliament.

In the afternoon, Mr. Hryb and other members of the Belarusian delegation, were received by Vitaliy Masol, prime minister of Ukraine. The discussion was focused on problems shared by Ukraine and Belarus in their transition to a market economy, the road to which, according to the Ukrainian prime minister, must be a balanced one. He stressed the need for cooperation aimed at increasing domestic production and improving technology. There is no need to create obstacles to such cooperation, such as taxes levied on goods travelling from one country to the other, or any other unjustified measures restricting cooperation which has been traditional for our countries and very fruitful, he said.

Myacheslaw Hryb told the Ukrainian side that the Belarusian parliament set up a special commission for cooperation with Ukraine and expressed a wish for similar initiatives from Ukraine's executive authorities. This met a favorable response on the Ukrainian side.

[Announcer] The press service of the Ukrainian Supreme Council reports that Oleksandr Moroz and Myacheslaw Hryb will hold a joint news conference at

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1530 GMT tomorrow at the conference room of the Standing Commissions building at 18/2 Hrushevskyy Street.

Kuchma Approves Power Division

LD2712192294 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1801 GMT 27 Dec 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Viktor Demidenko and Mikhail Melnik]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kiev December 27 TASS—"I like the way the Belarusian legislative and executive power branches divided their competence spheres—without confrontation," Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma told visiting Belarusian parliament speaker Myacheslaw Hryb here today.

The state head said that the Ukrainian parliament is slow in adopting the law on power and local government and noted radical reforms cannot be done without this law. The president thinks that the parliament has usurped alien functions and sometimes substitutes the executive power.

The meeting focused on the expansion of bilateral relations, interaction between the legislative and executive power branches, unification of laws and other normative acts. The sides also discussed the liquidation of the Chernobyl accident aftermath and voiced the need for joint projects to improve the environment and ensure social protection of the accident victims.

Kuchma and Hryb concluded the need for joint actions to boost the states' joining of the European communities and other international structures. In their opinion, the Russian Federation can do much in this respect.

National Affairs

Constitutional Commission Considers Draft Proposals

LD2712214394 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1859 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kiev, Dec 27 (Interfax-Ukraine)—The group on basic principles of the constitutional system recommended the meeting of the Constitutional Commission in Kiev today that the commission adopt the draft constitution discussed by the parliament on October 26, 1993, as a basis for further work.

Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma and Chairman of the Ukrainian Parliament Oleksandr Moroz took part in the meeting of the Constitutional Commission.

An Interfax-Ukraine correspondent reports that different wording was the main reasons for debates. The national-democratic forces insisted on fixing in the Fundamental law the term "Ukrainian people" while the Communists and Socialists wanted the constitution to say "the people of Ukraine." The issue will be discussed in groups once again.

The Constitutional Commission will also discuss in groups such issues as the "character of society, the organization of the parliament (one chamber or two chambers), the state language, the form of rule, the state system."

The Constitutional Commission proposed that the present procedure for adopting a new constitution be amended. It was proposed that the constitution be primarily discussed in the parliament and then adopted at a nation-wide referendum. It was also proposed to create a special group which will work out appropriate recommendations.

The groups of the Constitutional Commission also proposed that the constitution vest the president with the powers of the head of state and the head of the executive power. The president must also have the right to form the government practically independently, some members of the commission said.

The Ukrainian Constitutional Commission was created by the Ukrainian parliament on November 10. The commission includes 38 people and will work until a new constitution is adopted.

Parliament Passes Draft Law in First Reading

LD2812111594 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 0950 GMT 28 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev, 28 Dec—Three hundred and thirty four deputies were registered at today's Supreme Council session. The plenary sitting began with an address from Dmytro Tabachnyk, the head of the president's administration, who read out a letter from the president. It noted that the president was forced to address the letter to parliament because he could not see a possibility that the draft law [on power] would be passed in the first reading. The president proposed to form yet another coordinating commission, which would include representatives from deputies' groups and submit the new agreed version of the law for the Supreme Council's consideration in the first half of January 1995.

Replying to the letter, Chairman Oleksandr Moroz noted that the Supreme Council, for its part, had done everything for the law to be passed in the first reading.

The coordinating commission met again on 27 December, after the end of the evening sitting but members of the president's administration refused to work in it. Moroz concluded that some of the people who had worked on the draft law, "were very much against the law 'on power' being passed in the first reading in order to provide a pretext for a confrontation between the various branches of power, leading to the parliament's dissolution."

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Today, deputies were presented with two versions of a resolution. The first version had been submitted by people's deputies Volodymyr Marchenko, Volodymyr Cherepkov, Anatoliy Motspan, Vasyl Radko, and Leonid Kaminskyy. This "left-wing" draft proposed to pass the draft law "on power" to the constitutional commission as a proposal for Ukraine's new constitution. It also proposed to hold a referendum in March or April 1995. (However, as Mr. Radko noted, for the sake of compromise, the "left-wing" deputies had removed such issues as language and symbols from the referendum). They proposed to put such issues as forms of ownership of natural resources, the social function of the state, and the sovereignty of councils to a referendum.

People's deputy Vladyslav Nosov proposed a different draft Supreme Council resolution. The first clause of this version noted that the adoption of the draft constitutional law "on state power" in the form of a law, which enjoys a higher juridical force with regard to Ukraine's current Constitution, would directly contravene the requirements of three articles of the Ukrainian Constitution. The second clause of Nosov's draft concurs with the notion contained in the president's letter, on the necessity of forming an interim commission on this draft law and to submit once more the draft law "on power" for consideration in the first reading by 15 January but in the form of a draft law "on making changes to the Constitution of Ukraine."

By 220 votes, the Supreme Council of Ukraine passed the draft law "on power" and "local self-government," which was submitted by the president in the first reading.

Businessmen Support Kuchma's Reform Program

LD2712185294 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1701 GMT 27 Dec 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Viktor Demidenko, Mikhail Melnik]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kiev December 27 TASS—An open letter of the Ukrainian Union of Independent Entrepreneurs has been sent to President Leonid Kuchma and Parliament Speaker Aleksandr Morozov to support the president's policy of radical reforms. The letter was sent in connection with the discussion on power, property and privatization between the president and the parliament.

The businessmen think that all power must belong to the president at the current stage.

A major reason for failures is "the lack of a single center of reforms and an official to carry all the responsibility for success of the reforms," says the letter. The businessmen believe that Kuchma is the official, and the economic program suggested by the president has been approved by both the parliament, and the population, businessmen, the public and world fiscal organizations.

In the opinion of the union, the president does not have a free hand to implement his program of building civilized market relations in Ukraine on the basis of a single system of executive power. The draft presidential law on power which is being blocked by the parliament is aiming to solve this problem. The union will propagandize the presidential program, the law on power and "do its best to ensure popular support of Kuchma's doings".

Opinion Poll Probes Attitude to Chechnya Events

AU2712153094 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 23 Dec 94 p 1

[FBIS Translated Text] The "Democratic Initiatives" center on 15-20 December held a scheduled opinion poll among Kievans, who were asked to answer the question: "What is your attitude toward the bringing of Russian troops into Chechnya?" The answers may be divided into the following categories: 35 percent of respondents believe that military measures are unacceptable in principle and that all conflicts must only be resolved through negotiations. Almost one-third of the respondents—29 percent—answered that Russian must recognize Chechnya's independence and stop interfering in its affairs. Only 14 percent of the respondents supported the action. Another 14 percent said that they did not care about the events in Chechnya at all. The rest were undecided.

Besides, as has become known, on 21 December, yet another picketing against Moscow's action in Chechnya was organized in front of the Russian Federation's Embassy in Ukraine. The picketing was conducted by members of the Ukrainian Nationalist Assembly-Ukrainian National Self-Defense. The undertaking did not last long: It was a very cold day.

Government Cuts TV Broadcasting Due to Energy Shortages

LD2712143694 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1300 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev, 26 Dec [dateline as received]—Mr. Vilen Semenyuk, the minister for power engineering and electrification, has said during a meeting with correspondents that, from 27 December 1994, television broadcasts across Ukraine will begin from 1700 GMT and end at 0000 GMT on weekdays. On weekends and holidays there will be no restrictions on TV broadcasts. This schedule will last from December to March 1995.

The minister noted that the restrictions on TV broadcasting have been caused by the energy crisis in the state. "The equipment at electrical and thermal power stations is capable of producing the required amount of electricity and thermal energy, both for the economy and the population, Mr. Semenyuk stressed. Everything depends on energy. We import about 70 percent of our fuel requirements. This year we have been unable to balance the provision of energy with requirements. This has occurred because the miners did not work as well as last year owing to their economic difficulties. However, the main thing is the consumers' systematic non-payment for electric and thermal energy. As of today these debts have reached 23 trillion karbovantsi."

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Large Energy Savings Predicted

LD2712230494 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1940 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Kiev—The Ministry of Power Engineering has told UNIAN that the reduction of television broadcasting will save some 5 million kilowatt/hours of electric power per day and 150 million kilowatt/hours per month. This is equivalent to a monthly output of 1.4 million tonnes of coal, 1.3 million tonnes of rolled metal, and 1,200 tonnes of cement, the ministry said. [passage omitted]

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Belarus

Lukashenka Addresses Nation, Discusses Issues

WS2812112394 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0800 GMT 28 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Belarusian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka delivered a live address on national television yesterday. His speech was also transmitted by Belarusian radio. We believe that nobody listening to this speech was left indifferent. The president not only thoroughly discussed the socioeconomic situation in the Republic, but also once again focused his attention on those problems requiring immediate resolution.

The main one of those problems is the adoption of a state budget for 1995. The Supreme Soviet, without having resolved this issue, again adjourned. Apparently, the president emphasized, the deputies have been too tired by political rows. How can one advance without concrete or clear points of orientation? Therefore, the president thinks, it is necessary for the people's deputies to reconvene in session, literally tomorrow, and resolve this all-important question.

The president touched upon many problems of our present day and our lives tomorrow. He also did not omit those problems discussed by literally everybody: the increase in tariffs for housing and utilities, as well as the situation in connection with the report by Serhey Antonchyk, a people's deputy from the opposition Belarusian Popular Front, presented during the 16th session of the Supreme Soviet. He presented his own viewpoint on these problems. Regarding the increase in tariffs on housing and utilities, the president thinks it inexpedient to do it now; he thinks that the resolution of this difficult problem should be put off until spring. A stir around Antonchyk's report is needed for certain political forces which are least of all concerned with the present and future of the nation. Not confrontation, but consolidation of all forces and an effective search for ways out of the crisis is what we need now, Alyaksandr Lukashenka emphasized. Because only by joint efforts may one achieve success and thus improve the people's lives.

Hryb Interviewed on Corruption Report

WS2712133194 Minsk ZVYAZDA in Belarusian 23 Dec 94 p 1

[Interview with Belarusian Supreme Soviet Chairman Myacheslaw Hryb by Ihar Sinyakevich; place and date not given: "Myacheslaw Hryb: 'One Will Only Be Able To Draw Conclusions After Verification'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Hryb] My attitude toward the issues addressed in Deputy Antonchyk's report [on alleged government corruption] is negative. It is very bad if such things are taking place in our country. As a lawyer, however, I would like to emphasize that everything should be verified. Before accusing a man, every single fact, about which we were informed, must be verified. Perhaps it is not true? Perhaps it is operational information containing mistakes and inaccuracies? And this man has a family and children. Everything must be taken into account. One will only be able to draw conclusions after law enforcement agencies and our commission examine these issues and report on what is true and what is untrue.

[Sinyakevich] How do you assess the fact that the verification was entrusted to government bodies as well—the Interior Ministry and the KGB—even though the government leader is among those people who were accused?

[Hryb] Our resolution states the following: "...To order the Supreme Soviet Commission for Issues of National Security, Defense, and Battle Against Crime, the Prosecutor's Office, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the KGB," etc. The first goes the commission, which consists of 30 deputies, the majority of whom are well-trained practical lawyers. And they will assign tasks to law enforcement bodies and verify these facts. We cannot cross out the Interior Ministry or the KGB, because, as I think, certain information included in the report came from these bodies.

[Sinyakevich] What is your opinion of the resignations by Sinitsyn and Tsitsyankov?

[Hryb] This is a matter for the president. I did not appoint them, nor were their candidacies coordinated with me.

Chyhir on Report, Condemns Resignations

WS2712140994 Minsk ZVYAZDA in Belarusian 23 Dec 94 p 1

[Interview with Belarusian Prime Minister Mikhail Chyhir by Vital Tsyhankow and Ihar Sinyakevich; place and date not given: "Mikhail Chyhir: 'Antonchyk's Report Should Be Published'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [ZVYAZDA] How would you comment on the accusations levied against you, which were voiced in Antonchyk's report [to the Supreme Soviet on alleged government corruption]?

[Chyhir] I will respond to all accusations at a government news conference on Monday [26 December]. The most important and shameful thing is that the report—which was entitled "On corruption..."—contains no single fact of corruption. There are no facts, and the only plus here may be for Antonchyk's political career (as he certainly believes); regarding all other things there is a complete minus—for both the economy and the political situation in the Republic. I have yet to study Antonchyk's report, and at a news conference on Monday I will dwell on the main points concerning me for some 15 minutes.

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[Report] How do you, as prime minister, assess today's incident with a "white spot" being published in SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA instead of Antonchyk's report?

[Chyhir] I believe that no matter what the press does, Antonchyk's report will be disseminated, and everyone who wants to will be able to obtain access to it.

[ZVYAZDA] The Cabinet of Ministers, however, is one of the cofounders of SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA. You also bear certain responsibility for the fact that the paper was published with a "white spot."

[Chyhir] I have not yet read the press today, and I cannot say why this happened. I think, however, that this material should be published, since it will sooner or later be published anyway.

[ZVYAZDA] Antonchyk accused you of granting credits of very doubtful benefit to the state.

[Chyhir] It is easy to say whether or not something is beneficial from a position of hindsight. As a matter of fact, these deals reaped huge profits, primarily for the bank [Belarusian Agroindustrial Bank]. If the talk is that the credits were granted in rubles and repayed in hard currency, and that this is a violation, specialists have no doubts here.

[Report] What is your opinion on the resignations of members of the presidential team?

[Chyhir] I would have not done this, and believe that one must not resign immediately after a difficulty arises.

[ZVYAZDA] Do you condemn them?

[Chyhir] Yes, I do.

Official Resigns Over 'Error'

LD2712151294 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1418 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Minsk Dec 27 (Interfax-West)—Alyaksandr Feduta, chief of the Belarusian president's Social and Political Information Department, tendered his resignation on December 26. He told journalists in Minsk Tuesday that he decided to step down in light of his error "to ask editors of the leading republican newspapers not to be in a hurry to publish a report by Serhey Antonchyk, a member of the Belarusian parliament."

Speaking in parliament on December 20, Antonchyk exposed corruption in the presidential administration and identified four "ruling clans in Belarus" as "agrarian, industrial, Chernobyl, and foreign economic".

He suggested that President Lukashenka sack the Prime Minister, his two deputies, the Defence Minister, as well as the presidential administration chief.

Right after Antonchyk's disclosure, Leonid Sinitsyn, head of the presidential administration, and Ivan Titenkov, the presidential managerial department's chief, requested to resign, Lukashenka so far has not accepted these requests.

On December 23, some Belarusian periodicals appeared with blank columns. Leonid Ekel, chairman of the Belarusian Journalists Union, and six editors of the leading newspapers made a statement, on "the introduction of strict political censorship, the high-handedness of authorities, and crude trampling upon human rights, constitutional norms, and rights." This is evident from "the unprecedented printing of the newspapers SOVETSKAYA BELORUSIYA, ZVEZDA, RESPUBLIKA with blank spaces where Antonchyk's report was meant to be as well as from the failure of NARODNAYA GAZETA to get printed when trying to carry the minutes of the parliament's session on corruption in the president's team."

Deputies Discuss Report

WS2812110094 Minsk DOBRY VECHAR in Belarusian 22 Dec 94 p 1

[Interview with Belarusian People's Deputies Vital Malashka, Henadz Karpenka, and Uladzimir Stankevich, and Vasil Dalhalyow, chief of the Presidential Administration Control Service, by Lyudmila Klaskowskaya in Minsk on 21 December: "While Choosing Politics, One Must Know: You Will Be X-Rayed"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At yesterday's session, parliamentarians discussed in the second reading the draft law "On Supreme Soviet." One could sense, however, that they were still impressed by Serhey Antonchyk's report, which had the effect of a bomb explosion, since the president's closest supporters were accused of corruption, and a shadow was cast on the president himself.

Echoes of this scandal determined the topics of impromptu interviews conducted yesterday by a DOBRY VECHAR correspondent in the parliament.

[Klaskowskaya] What would you say about Mr. Antonchyk's report and the ensuing scandal in the oval room?

[Malashka] The majority of facts presented in Antonchyk's report are of a specific nature. The machinations with credits, which caused losses worth millions of dollars, are confirmed in credit documents signed by responsible people, about whom there was talk. I believe that the National Security Commission will be able to scrupulously investigate all these machinations.

As for the uproar raised during the session, everybody waited for the president's concrete explanations regarding the presented facts. What did they hear? They heard that the Belarusian Poplar Front [BNF] is apparently making its political capital? The president even

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offered [BNF Chairman] Paznyak and the opposition to almost immediately leave for Chechnya.

Still, to the essential question of whether one can steal in our country, Alyaksandr Lukashenka failed to respond. His following categorical statement is also ununderstandable: "I will not surrender my people." How should one understand this? As approval of what is going on in his entourage?

[Karpenka] I believe that what happened was nothing strange. Do you remember how a year ago Alyaksandr Lukashenka, chairman of the Anticorruption Commission at that time, was running about the corridors of power and scaring everybody with a suitcase stuffed with compromising materials? What happened in parliament these days, I would describe in the following way: The boomerang has returned.

However, it returned with heavier luggage and results. Whereas previously we had merely heard names and saw a briefcase with "compromising materials," this time Syarhey Antonchyk presented specific numbers and facts in his report, and named people who are standing behind indecent deals. I believe that it will take too long for competent bodies to examine these facts. I am surprised that the Supreme Soviet did not want to set up an appropriate parliamentary commission to investigate the facts presented in the report. Is the Belarusian parliament not losing control over this and other similar situations? Time and circumstances require that the highest legislative body impose control over law enforcement agencies and the KGB, because otherwise we may return to 1937, when the fate of a political or state leader was decided by these bodies in a very simple manner.

How will events develop? I am convinced that those who were named in Antonchyk's report will have to step down, since the majority of facts will be confirmed. However, there exists a moral aspect which I would like to present: There is a certain line, which a politician should not cross under any circumstances. When he crosses this line, he should make a choice between politics and business.

[Stankevich, in Russian] I am convinced that such parliamentary hearings should be held on a permanent basis, and not occasionally. I cannot understand why the president does not understand this. After all, this is also helpful to him. If he, for example, sees that Tsitsyankow or Kuchynski are incompetent (however, they once supported him, and he thus feels obliged to them), such parliamentary hearings will help him free himself of these people. This is first.

Second. Do you recall the following words: "Although any new authorities with pleasure display and overemphasize shortcomings of the old authorities, they also begin to allow for its own shortcomings?" Similar parliamentary hearings serve as a restraining factor. Everyone who will come to power should know that he will not escape this X-ray examination.

If Ivan Tsitsyankow previously dealt with business, let him continue to do so—in this area, as Ostap Bender [character from a famous novel] used to say, one can evade laws.

Let me say about another thing.

If those who are in power had openly broadcast Antonchyk's speech yesterday, I would have probably questioned the rightness of what he said. Concealing Antonchyk's information from the people, however, confirms that many people have been in the cookie jar. Let the people judge for themselves. After all, no matter how much mud was flung at [former Supreme Soviet Chairman] Shushkevich, the people did not believe he was a thief. I recall that during my election campaign to the Supreme Soviet an old woman said to me: "Do not worry, son, someone else's mud will not stick to you."

[Dalhalyow, in Russian] Many issues in Antonchyk's report were simply far-fetched. The report was entitled "On Corruption in the Presidential Administration," and the talk was actually about the administration staff. This means that if he had named at least one instance of administration officials using their official status in mercenary purposes or to lobby someone, there would have been a different discussion. No such facts were presented, however.

As for me and the so-called "housing issue," this "affair" was fabricated as early as under Kebich, when I was in opposition to the former prime minister. By the way, Antonchyk knew perfectly well about this, and I attempted to meet with him to explain my "abuses," but he avoided a conversation with me.

Speaking honestly, I do not understand why there is such a bitter attitude toward those who are currently with the president. When the authorities were replaced, I began working in the presidential team, and I have been working honestly, and do not feel guilty. I can say the same about Alyaksandr Lukashenka, who adheres to strict moral principles, as does the majority of his closest allies. I believe that the president will not accept the resignations of Sinitsyn and Tsitsyankow. In this complex situation, people should continue to work and do their business.

Negotiations on Russian Troop Withdrawal Held

WS2812103994 Minsk VO SLAVU RODINY in Russian 23 Dec 94 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Russian Units Are Leaving Belarus According to Schedule"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A Russian military delegation has visited Minsk. In the framework of a governmental agreement between the Republic of Belarus and the Russian Federation on procedures for withdrawing Russian military units from the territory of our Republic, negotiations on coordinating a timetable for the withdrawal in 1995 have been held.

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It was noted at the talks that the 1994 timetable for the withdrawal of Russian troops from the territory of Belarus was carried out in full. The two sides do not have mutual grievances in this regard. The Russian delegation positively responded to all proposals presented by Belarusian servicemen, concerning deadlines and procedures for withdrawing Russian units, which were voiced in connection with economic hardships in the Republic and difficulties with the future use of abandoned military towns.

Deputies Express Concern Over Chechnya Policy

WS2712144294 Minsk DOBRY VECHAR in Belarusian 22 Dec 94 p 1

[Statement issued by deputies from the Minsk City Soviet; place and date not given]

[FBIS Translated Text] The events which are taking place in the Chechen Republic confirm that the Russian leadership prefers forceful methods of resolving conflicts over peaceful ones. The several-month-long crisis and intrigues by foreign and domestic forces in Chechnya evolved into open military operations, during which the economy is being ruined and people are being killed. People's lives are again being sacrificed to big politics.

In this regard we express our compassion for families and friends of people killed on all sides of the conflict, and call for a stop to the military operations so that the list of victims is not expanded.

We voice our concern over another manifestation of an imperial policy on the part of prominent political and public forces in Russia.

We consider it inadmissible to drag Belarus into any military conflicts by virtue of the [CIS] Treaty "On Collective Security."

We consider it impossible to use the Army and other military units against their own people, and we thus call upon the Belarusian state authorities to halt any antistate and anti-Belarusian manifestations in all spheres of life, primarily in the Army, and to enhance the spiritual and national unity of the Belarusian people and the independence and honor of the Belarusian state.

[signed] A. Zavadski, V. Charnyawski, I. Charnyawski, A. Byalyatski, A. Zhuchkow, H. Stelmakh, H. Kunevich, M. Pliska, P. Stetsko, V. Yarashenka, M. Huryn, S. Smolski, V. Kuzmich, V. Prakapovich, A. Zaleski, L. Leanovich, V. Pawlava, S. Laptsew, M. Kobasa, S. Mikhayevich, N. Fralow, A. Babak, K. Faryna, N. Los, A. Volkaw, V. Vyadzyorka, V. Tsitkow, V. Khamenyuk, M. Straltsow, R. Yermakevich, H. Zhyznewski, I. Kalyayeva, S. Belyachyts, and U. Nestser.

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Kazakhstan

Austria, Sweden To Give $8 Million in Credits

LD2712191394 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1636 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Alma-Ata [Almaty] Dec 27 (FIA)—The governments of Austria and Sweden will extend Kazakhstan $8 million in credits to improve the balance of payments, Kazakhstan's National Agency for Foreign Investments has said.

He said that Austria would provide $5 million for a term of 17 years at an annual interest of 7-7.5 percent. Payments will be deferred by five years. Sweden will extend $3 million for a term of 11 years and with the 10-year deferment.

According to the Foreign Investments Agency representative the agreements on credits were signed in the course of inter-governmental negotiations in Vienna and Stockholm on the 16th and 21st of December. However, the money will be available only after the parliament of Kazakhstan ratified the credit agreements. Kazakhstan is likely to receive the money before the end of March 1995.

The agency's official also said that Kazakhstan next year would receive $40 million from the World Bank to modernize urban passenger transport three biggest cities: Alma-Ata-Karaganda and Shymkent. The Kazakh parliament ratified the credit agreement with the World Bank on December 22.

Friendship Treaty Documents Exchanged With Ukraine

LD2712214894 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Alma-Ata [Almaty], 26 Dec—Ukraine and Kazakhstan exchanged instruments of ratification of the treaty on friendship and cooperation. The documents were exchanged by Kazakhstan's Foreign Minister Kasymzhomat Tokayev and Ukrainian Ambassador to Kazakhstan Viktor Bohatyr. The sides expressed a mutual wish for further deepening of Ukrainian-Kazakh relations and establishment of an effective implementation mechanism for intergovernmental agreements between the two countries.

Supreme Council Passes New Civil Code

LD2712175194 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Russian 1500 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] President Nursultan Nazarbayev took place in a Supreme Council session today.

A law on foreign investments was passed in toto at the morning session after being discussed article by article.

After a break the deputies returned to the draft Civil Code. The results of work done by the redrafting commission on contentious articles were reviewed. Members of parliament made comments and proposals on the wording of some of these articles. The republic's Civil Code was passed in toto.

Tomorrow is the final day of the Supreme Council's second session.

Businessmen Appeal to President Nazarbayev, Supreme Council

LD2712180494 Almaty KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 22 Dec 94 p 1

["Appeal by a group of entrepreneurs to President Nursultan Nazarbayev and the Supreme Council of Kazakhstan"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In his address to parliament on 9 June 1994, President Nursultan Nazarbayev of the Republic of Kazakhstan called on the upper tiers of state power—to whom people have entrusted their destiny and future—as well as on political parties and public movements, to take a realistic look at the way things are, assess the situation dispassionately, draw the right conclusions, and finally, start working in a coordinated and constructive way.

However, the various branches of power, parties, and movements are not working constructively to tackle the most important problems of society's political and public life. Proof of this is provided by the Supreme Council's rejection, in an exploratory poll [reytingovoye golosovaniye], of the president's proposals for the state to have two languages, for private land ownership to be introduced, and on the character of the state.

We voice our profound concern about the fate of our homeland and put the following proposals to the president and Supreme Council:

1. We propose that a nationwide referendum should be held in the near future on the following issues:

—private ownership of land;

—bilingualism for the state;

—the character of the state.

2. In the context of the introduction of new passports from 1 January 1995, we propose eliminating the heading "nationality," since we, the multi-ethnic people of Kazakhstan, are one people and one nation, the Kazakhstanis.

3. We propose that the constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan should begin with the following words: "We, the people of Kazakhstan, united by community of historical destiny, territory, and mutual respect for our ethnic, linguistic and religious differences, have decided to establish a united, free and independent state for ourselves and our descendents on this land."

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[signed]
Kazkommertsbank - N.Subkhanberdin
Aktsept - U.Ksembayev
Astana Holding - M.Abylov
Astana Motors - N.Smagulov
Raimbek - R.Batalov
Amarata - N.Utebaliyev
A.Postovalov & Co. - M.Dyusenbayev
Butya - B.Abilov
Alem System - S.Sharipbayev
Aziya Leasing - K.Yesenberlin
and 150 other representatives of various firms.

Western Firm To Sign Contract To Buy Uranium

LD2712184794 Almaty KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 22 Dec 94 p 2

[Unattributed article: "Uranium Contracts Shining Ahead of Us"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Kazakh uranium continues to interest Western firms. Recently the RU-6 uranium-mining enterprise in Kzyl-Orda was visited by Michael Goppel, director general of the European Atomic Energy Community [Euratom]; Jean-Claude Blanquart, head of a Euratom unit [for nuclear fuel supply, contracts, and studies]; Brema Brands, a senior Euratom manager; and Gerhard Glattes, chairman and managing director of the Uranerzbergbau firm. A.K. Aymanov, vice president of the Kazakh Atomic, Fuel and Energy Corporation (KATEP), which is a joint-stock company, accompanied the foreign guests.

The foreign experts judged RU-6 to be a very promising plant. KATEP and the Uranertz firm intend to sign long-term contracts for the supply of uranium to Western consumers.

Kyrgyzstan

Akayev Critical of Interior Ministry Apparatus

LD2712205594 Bishkek Kyrgyz Radio First Program Network in Kyrgyz 1600 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] According to an article published in the 27 December edition of SLOVO KYRGYZSTANA, the board of the Interior Ministry has held a regular meeting behind closed doors. President Askar Akayev and the state secretary and head of the presidential administration, Dzhanysh Rustembekov, took part.

The head of state stated in his speech that the ministry's apparatus was in disarray, that they had a poor grasp of their skills, and that their experts were incompetent. The fact that this year more than 400 officers in the Interior Ministry were brought to book for various crimes was the argument behind the accusations.

Premier Notes Importance of New Tax Law

LD2712134094 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1243 GMT 27 Dec 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Akimov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Almaty December 27 TASS—During a meeting with leaders of the union of industrialists and entrepreneurs, Prime Minister of Kazakhstan Akedjan Kazhegeldin admitted the topicality and importance of the question of adopting a new taxation law, the news agency KAZTAG reported today. An exchange of views took place on a statement issued by representatives of this organization of business circles during their meeting held on December 13.

The document, which evoked a widespread resonance in the republic, the new tax issue was raised before the Kazakh leadership in context of the fact that the existing tax law has already lead enterprises to to a general insolvency and growth of debts. As a concrete example to improve the situation, the statement contained a proposal to sell raw production through stock exchanges, and to review taxes from the point of view of protecting the industry's interests. Simultaneously, it suggested to amend the credit-financing policy in such a way that Kazakh commodity producers are given credits at International Bank for Reproduction and Development interst rates.

The prime minister told the business circle representatives that the government has already prepared a number of documents aimed at resolving these problems.

It was deemed expedient to hold an extraordinary congress of the union of industrialists and entrepreneurs of the republic to find solutions to other issues on January 16-17, 1995.

New Newspaper To Address Interethnic Issues

LD2712140894 Bishkek Kyrgyz Radio First Program Network in Kyrgyz 0000 GMT 26 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Osh journalists have started the publication of a new newspaper which has been registered by the Kyrgyz Ministry of Justice. It will be published in Russian. It was founded by the republican council of ethnic Russians, the regional association for unity in Osh, the Slavic association in Zhalalabad and the advertizing agency Diana. This weekly is to be published on four pages, to cover items on inter-ethnic relations and live of various nationalities in Kyrgyzstan. The first issue of SOGLASIYE will be published on the first day of the New Year.

Tajikistan

Tehran Delivers Aid for Tajik Orphans

LD2712204294 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Tajik 1200 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Today, on the occasion of the New Year, the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran handed out some humanitarian aid to the orphaned children of Tajikistan in Dushanbe's Hotel Tajikistan. Here is a report from our correspondent Lazzat Dilovarzod:

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[Dilovarzod] The democratic [word indistinct] state of Tajikistan is regarded as one of the underdeveloped states of the world. The republic's economic situation means that foreign states, our neighbors who speak the same language, cannot remain unmoved. They send as much foodstuff, clothes, and children's food as they can to our republic.

A few days ago a plane load from the Imam Khomeyni Charity Committee in the Islamic Republic of Iran arrived in Tajikistan. Today, a representative of the embassy of the Islamic Republic of Iran to Tajikistan, Mr. Elahi, accompanied by Iranian embassy representatives, distributed it among orphans. The [word indistinct] of this humanitarian aid, Mr. Elahi said:

[Begin Elahi recording] In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful. My name is Elahi, deputy ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Tajikistan. I congratulate all the dear people of Tajikistan on the occasion of the Christian New Year. Today, with help and assistance from the Red Crescent Society of the Republic of Tajikistan, this magnificent party was held for the young children of Tajikistan. It was a really magnificent party, for which thanks should be given. I would like to thank Mrs. Ziyoda Davlatbekova, in charge of the Red Crescent Committee, and all those who helped in organizing and holding this splendid celebration.

As you can see, what is being distributed to these children is a part of the aid delivered from the Imam Khomeyni Charity Committee to Dushanbe by plane. We hope that our continuing assistance will meet a small part of the need. I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate all fraternal and dear people of Tajikistan on the occasion of the New Year. Thank you once again. [end recording]

Rakhmanov Appoints Regional Leaders

LD2812104494 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Tajik 0500 GMT 28 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] By edict of the president of the Republic of Tajikistan from 27 December 1994, the following appointments have been made in Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Region:
Mamnur Kurbonaliyev: chairman of Ishkashimskiy district;
Adulbek Bakirovich Atayev: chairman of Murgabskiy district;
Shirinsho Shomansurov: chairman of Rushanskiy district;
Shofaqir Jumayev: chairman of Shugnanskiy district;
Yormahmad Sangov: chairman of Darvazskiy district;
Shodibek Qilichbekov: chairman of Roshtkalinskiy district.

The above-mentioned edict is to be submitted for approval by the Supreme Assembly.

Gornyy Badakhshan Region Officials Appointed

LD2712210694 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Tajik 1700 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Decree by the president of the Republic of Tajikistan on appointing (Niyozmamadov), as chairman of Gornyy Badakhshan Autonomous Region:

Under Article 69 of the Constitution of the Republic of Tajikistan, (Alimamad Niyozmamadov) is appointed chairman of Gornyy Badakhshan Autonomous Region.

[signed] President Emomali Rakhmanov of the Republic of Tajikistan. Dushanbe, 27 December 1994.

Decree by the president of the Republic of Tajikistan on appointing (Imomnazarov), chairman of the town of Khorog in Gornyy Badakhshan Autonomous Region:

Under Article 69 of the Constitution of the Republic of Tajikistan, (Satvoljon Imomnazarov) is appointed chairman of the town of Khorog in Gornyy Badakhshan Autonomous Region.

[signed] President Emomali Rakhmanov of the Republic of Tajikistan, Dushanbe 27 December 1994.

The above-mentioned decrees are to be submitted for approval by the Supreme Assembly.

Uzbekistan

Premier, Tajik Counterpart Sign Trade Agreement

LD2712213794 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1859 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tashkent, Dec 27 (Interfax)—Uzbek and Tajik heads of governments Abdulkhasim Mutalov and Dzhamshed Karimov signed a bilateral trade and economic cooperation agreement for 1995 in Tashkent Tuesday [27 December].

Tajikistan's ambassador to Uzbekistan Yulbars Egamberdyiev [name as received] told Interfax that the negotiations on all the issues had proceeded in calm and friendly atmosphere.

He said that the Uzbek leadership had shown understanding of Tajikistan's economic plight resulting from the 1992 civil war. Uzbekistan would supply to Tajikistan numerous goods and services on the easiest possible terms.

Egamberdyiev emphasized that the Uzbek government is prepared to supply natural gas to Tajikistan in amounts necessary for normal functioning of the industries and heating of houses.

People's Democratic Party 'Poised To Win' Elections

LD2712174494 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1636 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] TASHKENT, Dec 27 (Interfax)—Sources in Uzbekistan say that the People's Democratic Party of Uzbekistan, headed by President Islam Karimov, is poised to win the parliamentary elections.

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The sources also say that early results are likely to be announced Wednesday or Thursday and final results, next week.

The 250 seats in the Oly Mazhlis, the People's Assembly, were contested by 634 candidates nominated by the ruling People's Democratic Party, the Vatan Tarakkieti (Fatherland's Progress) party and the local and Tashkent soviets.

It was officially announced in Tashkent that the national turn out averaged 92.5 percent. In the capital nearly 86 percent of the voters reported to the polling stations.

Central Election Commission Chairman Kudratilla Akhmedov said that the two parties that had contested the elections had overcome the five percent barrier and will be represented in parliament.

In about 15 percent of constituencies none of the candidates gathered more than 50 percent of the votes.

Elections 'Largely Met' International Standards

LD2712190094 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1717 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Dec 27 (Interfax)—The parliamentary elections held in Uzbekistan on December 25 "largely met the international standards," a foreign observer told Interfax. He made it clear that he expressed the informal opinion of most his colleagues.

He said two kinds of irregularities, voting for the entire family by one person and lack of a stamp on numerous ballots. According to the observer, these deviations from the procedure were explained away as Uzbek and Soviet habits, youth of democracy, etc.

The observer said that the quiet atmosphere, reliable protection of the voting stations by the police and high electoral activity were the positive features of the elections.

CSCE member nations, notably Russia, and Afghanistan, Israel, China, South Korea, Malaysia and Iraq were represented on the international team of observers.

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Armenia

International Red Cross Envoy Discusses Work

NC2712185094 Yerevan NOYAN TAPAN in English 0941 GMT 26 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] 26/12/94 (NOYAN TAPAN)—It has been three years since the time when the International Red Cross Committee [IRCC] started its work in Armenia, Azerbaijan and Mountainous Karabakh. On December 2-3 the Chief Envoy of the IRCC for countries of Eastern Europe and Central Asia Jean-Mark Boerne was visiting Armenia. He met with the Defense Minister Serzh Sargisyan and Armenian President's Head Advisor Zhirayr Liparityan. Mr. Boerne also talked to a group of journalists and presented in details the activity of the above-mentioned organization in the region.

Boerne: "In 1991 because of the Karabakh conflict we established our consulates in Baku, Yerevan, Stepanakert and Bard. Currently 8 employees work here.

"We act in 3 different ways in pursuing protection of victims of warfare. First of all, it is distribution of humanitarian aid: We have distributed and are still distributing large quantities of aid to the needy of all three sides (Armenia, Azerbaijan and Karabakh)—to people who were deported, to those who returned to their homes and sometimes to other vulnerable stratas of general population that may not have directly suffered from the war. Several dozens of thousands people receive our aid.

"Besides this, during the period from December 1993 to January 1994, when hostilities continued on the Karabakh frontier, our organization allotted large amounts of medical substances and equipment for near-frontier hospitals of both sides. This region is particular in a sense that many medical specialists with high qualification work here and it was not necessary to provide doctors from abroad. Nonetheless, local doctors did not have experience in military surgery.

"There is another one, rather delicate, aspect of our activity. It is aid we offer for prisoners of war and hostages. In a number of cases we demand immediate liberation of prisoners. Particularly when the latter are wounded, women, old people and children.

"There are phenomena particular only to the Caucasus. Judging by all, maybe because of a tradition, there is a tendency for taking hostages. People capture persons from the opposite side in hopes of exchanging them for their relatives and friends. In such cases the IRCC demands immediate liberation of all hostages. Of course, this does not mean that our demands are always satisfied at once.

"On account of prisoners, the IRCC is very active in this area starting with the moment of imprisonment and until liberation. First of all, we endeavor to gain access to the places of their incarceration. We visit them and make sure that they receive due treatment and in this way we can report reliable information to their relatives. Our representatives visit the prisoners one-to-one so that they can describe their situation without intimidation. It is very important that there be an atmosphere of trust not only between a representative of the IRCC and the prisoner but also between Red Cross employees and officials they encounter in their activity. This gives an opportunity to regularly visit the prisoners.

"What conclusions can we draw from the results of our activity during these 3 years? From one point of view, we think that we have attained a lot, but much more is still left to accomplish.

"During these 3 years there has been a progress in a sense that our principles currently are accepted by all the sides of the conflict. Trust me, it is no trifle, because in the republics of former Soviet Union we start not from the zero but from some level below zero. The matter is that principles of humanism and Geneva Conventions were not accepted here. People did not follow the basic principles of Geneva Conventions.

"Our primary goal was to reach the zero level. Now, after three years of our activity, I am enabled to say that we have reached a point a lot higher than zero. Both Armenian and Azeri sides joined the Geneva conventions. The governments comprehend and realize the importance of the conventions, even if they are led by their own interests.

"But there are problems. Although all high ranking officials realize the necessity of our principles, in ordinary life we deal with common people who oftentimes do not understand it. For instance, those officials whom we encounter on the issues related to prisoners oftentimes refuse to let us meet the prisoners one-to-one. They explain it by saying that they are worried about our security.

"Sometimes officials agree to release hostages located in a particular village or family, but when they try to liberate them, the families or even the whole village oppose their own forces or officials.

"Therefore, when the level consciousness of top officials is above zero, we face a very important task of spreading the principles of Geneva Conventions among common people.

"This is the third, very important, sphere of our activity, the one we call enlightening work. That is to make common people, doctors, army and civilians. The basis is very simple—respect for people, including your adversaries.

"The culture of any country, any nation has its own memorials, manuscripts, traditions that share the spirit of our principles: the laws of humanism. Here is one of calendars we have published—it contains passages from

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classic Armenian literature which accord to the international laws of humanism, the spirit of Geneva Conventions. We did the same in Azerbaijan.

"I have spent two days in Baku and two in Yerevan and met with officials of both countries. In general we discussed the same issues: ensuring of our regular contacts with prisoners and hostages. Often times, top officials are not aware of what is going on in their prisons and how their subordinates treat prisoners. With a sense of satisfaction they learn about it from neutral foreigners."

Question: We have learned that during your visit the Azeri Government handed to you a list of names of several thousand civilians allegedly captured by the Armenian side. Meanwhile, both Armenia and MKR [Mountainous Karabakh Republic] claim that they have released all the imprisoned women and children.

Boerne: Each side has many missing people, hundreds of them. We aspire to convince the officials to allow us to find out what has happened to the missing. We try to be present at identification of corpses. It is very hard for families who don't have information about relatives and wait for years with a hope. During this conflict the soldiers often lose the signs or documents that would identify them. Sometimes they burn such documents and change their outfits. On account of civilians I may say that when hundreds of thousands are being deported, naturally a lot of people are missing.

Question: Could you give exact information on the number of refugees of the Armenian and Azeri sides? The data we have is contradictory.

Boerne: We should differentiate between refugees and deported. Red Cross does not have a mandate to deal with refugees, i.e. those who changed their country of residence. The UN High Commission for Refugees attends to their problems. Red Cross takes care of deported, i.e. those who were deported but stayed on the territory of their countries. For instance, those Armenians who moved from Karabakh to Armenia as a result of Azeri attack in 1992. From a formal point of view, they were considered refugees, and those who stayed in Karabakh—deported. There is no doubt that both these categories suffered equally. Today I can't give an exact number, but may say that the Azeri side as compared to the Armenian is in much harder situation. They count their deported by hundreds of thousands.

Question: This year the former President of the Minsk Group [of] CSCE J. Eliasson stated that this group should take measures for establishment of an atmosphere of trust among the sides of the Karabakh conflict. As far as I know, Red Cross has a very important role in execution of these measures. Can we say that a new type of cooperation started between IRCC and the Minsk Group?

Boerne: I am very glad that you asked this question. It reflects best of all the special features of our activity. Our goals are purely humane. For example, our position in the issue of prisoners and hostages is unequivocal—we demand their liberation. We never exchange people because we are of an opinion that people are not products for sale. Another case is politicians. Their goal is to reach a political settlement and from the height of their chairs they may afford all kinds of transactions. The best example of this is not Karabakh but Abkhazia. As you know, 200 thousand Georgians were deported from there. Our position is clear on this: We have to get people back into their homes. Nevertheless, we realize that this will complicate political settlement of the conflict, since the return of deported will drastically change the situation in Abkhazia. Rather often we face similar contradictions in our work.

Question: What are your organization's relations with the church?

Boerne: I must admit that from the moment it was established our organization made a serious mistake. It chose as a symbol to represent itself the Swiss flag by changing the colors: white background and red cross. But 15 years later in 1878 during Russian-Turkish war a problem came up, since the Turkish side started to mistrust us attaching a religious meaning to our symbol. A necessity arose to add another symbol—crescent for the Muslim countries. We cooperate with church as with any other organization that act in accordance to our aims and principles.

Nagorno-Karabakh 'President' Appoints Petrosyan 'Premier'

NC2712204694 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1900 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] President of Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] Robert Kocharyan signed a decree today appointing Leonard Georgi Petrosyan as the prime minister of NKR.

Leonard Georgi Petrosyan is (?46) years old, [words indistinct]. Until his appointment as the head of NKR government, Leonard Petrosyan headed the Armenian Republic's State Directorate for Special Projects since 1992. [passage indistinct] In the meantime, he also served as [words indistinct] in Nagorno-Karabakh [words indistinct]. He is married and has (?four) children.

Parliament Seen Near 'Complete Collapse'

MK2712144894 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Dec 94 p 1

[Report by Armen Khanbabyan under the "Armenia" rubric: "Has Shumeyko Put the Evil Eye on the Armenian Parliament? Supreme Council's Crisis May End in Its Collapse"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The murder of Ambartsum Galstyan, former mayor of Yerevan, has caused an unprecedented crisis in work of the Armenian Supreme

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Council. The opposition immediately demanded explanations from the president and the general prosecutor's office, but no vote on summoning them to the parliament has taken place because of the lack of a quorum. In their stead, the legislators were addressed by David Shakhnazaryan, acting chief of the State National Security Administration. He acknowledged that a terrorist group is operating in the republic, whose activity is aimed at destabilizing the internal political situation, for which reason more political assassinations should be expected. Shakhnazaryan's explanations did not satisfy the opposition. Members of the National Democratic Union faction said that they would suspend their membership in parliament because "the Supreme Council has demonstrated an utter helplessness at a critical juncture and has ceased to be a serious factor of political life." Members of the Dashnaktsutyun, Free Parliamentarians, and National Progress factions, as well as some independent deputies, followed suit. The overall number of the "refuseniks" reached 47 people. They all accuse the Supreme Council Presidium and Speaker Babken Ararktsyan of impeding normal work and demand that the speaker resign and that an emergency session be convened.

Observers note that the opposition has blocked the parliament's operation at a time when new laws on elections and the budget for next year were about to be discussed. Evidently, following a defeat suffered in the recent debate and vote on the government's economic policy and the approval of international credits, the opposition factions have realized that the president, relying on a pro-government majority, can push through any decision he may need. For this reason, the situation that has come about at the Supreme Council may indicate the opposition's desire to tie the executive authority's hands in assimilating foreign credits and thus to discredit it. If the opposition manages to replace the speaker and to change the Presidium's lineup in its favor, it may count on participation in the redivision of the credit pie.

In the current circumstances, increasingly insistent rumors have mounted that the president is ready to sign an edict dissolving the Supreme Council and calling new elections. The presidential press service denied that, which is natural because there is no new law on elections, while the old one, based on the principle of proportional representation, will benefit the opposition instead of the Armenian National Movement [ANM]. It is certain, however, that over the next few days Levon Ter-Petrosyan will have to react. To all appearances, he will announce the convening of an emergency session, at which the ruling majority will try yet another time to split the already far from unified opposition. Hopes for "a big dialogue" between a bloc of right-wing parties and the opposition appear to be ephemeral. According to Mr. Avoyan, secretary of the Supreme Council, these developments are dangerous because with the parliament's demise a lightning rod of sorts will disappear, too, which has made it possible to accumulate the energy of political confrontation exclusively within the Supreme Council's walls, while not letting it spill over into the street. A paralysis of the representative branch can thus have a negative impact on the situation in the country, all the more so because the mastermind and perpetrator of the highly publicized murders is yet to be found.

While on an official visit in Yerevan last October, Vladimir Shumeyko said that he envied the Supreme Council, which is calmly finishing its term of office established by law free from any upheavals. Shumeyko appears to have put the evil eye on the Armenian parliament, which has never been closer to a complete collapse.

Resigned Deputies Convene Separate 'Deputy Assembly'

NC2712172994 Yerevan NOYAN TAPAN in English 1542 GMT 26 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] 26/12/94 (NOYAN TAPAN)—On December 26, in the Armenian Supreme Council's hall of plenary sessions the group of parliamentaries named "Deputy Assembly" continued its work. The session was chaired by the Deputy Paruyr Hayrikyan. "Deputy Assembly" finishes the elaboration of the regulations of its work and the work of the Presidium. 24 deputies of 47 those, who wanted to work in the group were present at the session. As of 4:00 PM it was not known yet whether the communist-deputies would join the Parliamentary faction or not. The leadership of the Armenian Communist Party has not yet taken any decision in this regard.

Azerbaijan

Aliyev's Meeting With Turkey's Cindoruk Reported

NC2712201194 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] President Geydar Aliyev received the speaker of the Turkish Grand National Assembly [TGNA], Husamettin Cindoruk, today. He sincerely welcomed Cindoruk and his delegation and expressed the hope that their visit will bring the two countries closer together.

President Aliyev said that Husamettin Cindoruk's visit is the first by TGNA members and stressed that it will further strengthen the relations between the parliaments of Turkey and Azerbaijan. Aliyev also drew attention to the composition of the republic's parliament. He said that the majority of the members of the parliament in Azerbaijan were elected in accordance with the old system used during the communist era. Aliyev said: Parliamentary elections in accordance with the democratic requirements will be held for the first time in 1995. We feel the need to benefit from the TGNA's experience.

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We are convinced that the TGNA will support the effort we shall make to hold democratic elections to establish our parliament.

Husamettin Cindoruk said that he agreed with President Aliyev's views and noted that the TGNA is always prepared to help Azerbaijan. Cindoruk stressed: We have tried to conclude each and every process in a positive way in order to contribute to Azerbaijan's national independence and development. We have held talks on technical matters and fraternal relations many times in the past, including when you were serving as chairman of the Supreme Soviet. Naturally, we shall give you our views about the elections of 1995. Meanwhile, I am convinced that Azerbaijan is moving in the right direction. Turkey will not hesitate to help you to resolve the problems you may confront in your progress.

President Aliyev briefed his guest on the recent developments in Azerbaijan. He described the suspension of the movement on the railways because of the recent incidents in the region as a blockade against Azerbaijan. Aliyev stressed: We hope that Turkey will help us with this difficult situation.

Altan Karamanoglu, Turkish ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Azerbaijan; Mamed Novruzoglu, Azerbaijan's plenipotentiary ambassador to Turkey; Acting Prime Minister Fuad Guliyev; Foreign Minister Gasan Gasanov; Yashar Aliyev, deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan National Assembly; and other officials attended the meeting.

Conflict Settlement, Chechnya Discussed

LD2712221794 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1450 GMT 27 Dec 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sevindzh Abdullayev and Viktor Shulman]

[FBIS Translated Text] Baku, 27 Dec—Turkey has been consistently advocating compliance with the principles of territorial integrity of states and inviolability of their borders. This was stated today by speaker of the Turkish Grand National Assembly [TGNA] Husametting Cindoruk at a meeting with Azerbaijan's president Geydar Aliyev. He arrived in Baku on Monday [26 December] evening on a two-day official visit at the invitation of his Azerbaijani colleagues.

The TGNA speaker said that his country supports the world community's efforts for a peaceful settlement of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict and has been advocating the resolution of this difficult problem exclusively within the framework of the CSCE. He again confirmed Turkey's readiness to give Azerbaijan all kinds of assistance in resolving its difficult economic and social problems, carrying out democratic reforms, and supporting this friendly state' stance in the international arena.

Aliyev asserted that many problems now being experienced by the republic have been made worse by the halting of transport links between Azerbaijan and Russia, as a result of which damage worth many millions is being caused daily to the country's economy. What is being referred to is that in connection with the events in Chechnya the North Caucasian Railway has been out of operation for almost six months. "The Chechen crisis" has served as the reason for air, sea, and motor transport links between the two countries being halted during the past week. According to the assessment of the head of the Azerbaijani state, the republic has essentially found itself in a blockade given the fact that more than 90 percent of freight for Azerbaijan passes through the Northern Caucasus.

Republic Wants No Split With Russia Over Chechnya

LD2712165694 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1640 GMT 27 Dec 94

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sevindzh Abdullayeva and Viktor Shulman]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku December 27 TASS—Azerbaijan made it clear on Tuesday [27 December] that although it stands for a peaceful solution of the Chechen conflict, it wants no split with Russia over the crisis in the rebel Muslim republic on which it borders.

"The leadership of Azerbaijan attributes exclusively great importance to relations with Russia", Gasan Gasanov, the foreign minister of the Transcaucasian republic told TASS on Tuesday [27 December].

"Attempts of certain forces to sow anti-Azeri moods in Russia by using the conflict in Chechnya are doomed to failure. No bodies of the republic have participated or are going to participate in the events in that north Caucasian region of Russia", he added.

But Gasanov said that "the leadership of Azerbaijan expresses regret over the bloodshed in Chechnya and calls on the opposing parties to sit down at the negotiating table and solve the conflict by peaceful means".

Russian officials said foreign mercenaries used the territory of Azerbaijan to reach Chechnya and fight on the side of Chechen separatist president Dzhokhar Dudayev. Russia even closed the Chechen-Azeri border.

Gasanov said that both Azerbaijan and Russia are interested in expanding bilateral contacts and relations in the CIS framework.

"Official Baku views Russia as an important mediator in settling the Armenian-Azeri conflict (over Nagorno-Karabakh) thanks to whose efforts a ceasefire has been lasting for over six months in the combat area which covers a considerable part of Azerbaijan", the foreign minister said.

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Head of Caucasus Muslims Appeals to Yeltsin on Chechnya

NC2712161194 Baku TURAN in English 1538 GMT 26 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku, December 26 (TURAN)—Clergy of Azerbaijan opposes military operations of Russian armed forces concerning peaceful population of Chechnya. "As head of Muslims of Caucasus I cannot be indifferent to murder of peaceful population," TURAN was told by the Head of Spiritual Department of Muslims of Caucasus (SDMC) Sheikh-ul-Islam Haji Allahshukur Pashazade.

He said that the decision of authorities of Russia to settle the Chechen conflict by military way was wrong. "This problem should be solved only peacefully, Russia must not lose its respect and image among the Caucasus nations," noted he. He does not want Russia to repeat the mistake of leaders of former USSR in regard with Azerbaijan on January 19-20, 1990.

According to Pashazade, in his appeals to Boris Yeltsin, Russian Duma and the Patriarch of Moscow Aleksy II he drew the attention on the necessity to decline force methods and called to show mercy and humanism. "I have not yet an information about official reaction of Moscow to my appeals, but the military operations against Groznyy continue," said Sheikh.

Pashazade noted that SDMC is ready to joint search of the ways of peaceful solution of the conflict in Chechnya together with Russian clergy, in order to avoid new sacrifices.

Russia Asked To Extradite Alleged Coupists

NC2712160294 Baku TURAN in English 1538 GMT 26 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku, December 26 (TURAN)—The General Prosecutory Office of Azerbaijan officially appealed the General Prosecutory Office of Russia to extradite the state criminals—Suret Guseynov and other former high-ranking leaders of Azerbaijan, involved in the October events 1994 in Ganja and Baku, TURAN was told by acting General Prosecutor of the republic Eldar Hasanov. According to him, the appeal was sent to Russia on December 21, 1994.

Gasanov also said that law enforcement bodies of Russia had not yet answered the request of Azerbaijan's Prosecutory Office. Gasanov considers that a reason can be the worsening of political situation in Russia. However, Russia has not answered on other inquires of Azerbaijan in extradition of Abdurahman Vezirov, former first secretary of Central Communist Party of Azerbaijan, Ayaz Mutalibov, ex-president of the country and former chief of KGB Vagif Guseynov. "We have a credible information that they are in Russia," noted Gasanov.

As it has already been reported on October 4, 1994 the armed formations subordinated to Suret Guseynov in Ganja took under the control all key points in the city and that gave a reason for Geydar Aliyev to blame Guseynov in the attempt of coup d'etat. On October 7 Guseynov was dismissed from the post of premier and on October 15 the Parliament sanctioned his arrest. But on October 12 Suret Guseynov and some people close to him left Azerbaijan.

British Embassy Denies Army Personnel in Nagorno-Karabakh

NC2712160494 Baku TURAN in English 1538 GMT 26 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku, December 26 (TURAN)—Today British Embassy in Azerbaijan issued a statement. It reads that from the press it became known that British Army personnel is involved in the operations on clearing mines in Nagorno-Karabakh. In this regard British Government states that "there is not British Army personnel in Nagorno-Karabakh. The talk is about the private charitable organisation "Hello Trust", which partially cleared mines in Nagorno-Karabakh," reads the statement.

British Government considers that representatives of this non-governmental organisation are interested in rendering aid to all communities in the regions which were mined. That is why British Government appeals this organisation to consult with Azerbaijan's government on their activity at the territory of republic. The Embassy notes that Lady Caroline Cox, who visited Karabakh more than once does not represent British Government. "Her post—is one of the 20 deputies of the House of Lords. It is not a governmental appointment and she visits Karabakh as a private person. The government is not responsible for her actions," reads the statement.

Proclamation of Karabakh Republic Denounced

NC2712162194 Baku TURAN in English 1538 GMT 26 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku, December 26 (TURAN)—Today State Committee of Azerbaijan for International Relations issued a statement reading that on December 22, 1994 at the territory of Azerbaijan, occupied by Republic of Armenia took place a farce on "election the president" of self-proclaimed and not recognised by anybody "Nagorno-Karabakh's republic."

This action is of provocation character and is aimed at the destruction of peacekeeping efforts in settlement the Armenian-Azeri conflict peacefully, reads the document. The statement notes that the provocation was done immediately after the CSCE's summit in Budapest, where important decisions on cessation the conflict were adopted. "Such frank challenge to the efforts of the CSCE is demonstrated not for the first time and is the result of unpunished actions of Armenian aggressors," notes the statement. "This action is illegal also because it took place on the occupied territory of Nagorno-Karabakh region of Azerbaijan, who was under the ethnic clearing on the part of Armenian aggressors," says the document.

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Georgia

Tbilisi Begins Paying for Turkmen Gas Supplies

LD2712214294 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1859 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tbilisi, Dec 27 (Interfax)—Supplies of natural gas from Turkmenistan to Georgia will start in January, the Gruzgaz department told Interfax Tuesday [27 December].

This became possible once Georgia transferred $1 million to Turkmenistan in December and started sending $10 million worth of goods to Ashgabat. Georgia's debt for Turkmenian gas totals $500 million.

The conditions on which Turkmenian gas will be supplied to Georgia will be agreed on during the visit of a Georgian delegation under Deputy Prime Minister Zurab Kervalishvili to Ashgabat which started on December 27.

The Tbilisi authorities intend to cut off gas supply to those who do not pay for it. The amount to be paid for gas is about 1.5 times the minimal monthly wage.

Foreign Ministry Receives Chechen Note

LD2712200894 Tbilisi SAKINFORM in Russian 1719 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Georgian Foreign Ministry has received a document named "Note of the Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Chechnya [word indistinct]." The note in particular says that not only has Georgia closed its borders with Chechnya, but having agreed with Russia, Georgia has also given Russia its territory for heavy bombers which are bombing Chechnya's residential areas. A big surprise is expressed in the document over the Georgian leadership's assessment of the events in Chechnya as an internal affair of the Russian state.

Defense Ministry Denies Note's Charges

LD2712172094 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1323 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Tbilisi—In response to the statement by the Republic of Chechnya alleging that Georgia gave its territory for the deployment of heavy bombers of the Russian Armed Forces, which shelled Chechen territory, the Georgian Defense Ministry declares that not a single military flight has been carried out from the territory of Georgia to neighboring states.

Official Bewildered By Opening of Abkhaz Mission in Moscow

LD2712202294 Tbilisi SAKINFORM in Russian 1719 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Aleksandr Kavsadze, chairman of the Committee for Human Rights and Ethnic Minorities of Georgia, in an interview given to the Georgian television expressed his bewilderment that Russia has allowed Abkhazia, which is a part of Georgia and cannot be a subject of international law, to open its mission in Moscow.

Shevardnadze: Abkhazian War Cost Moscow $30 Million

LD2712211794 Tbilisi SAKINFORM in Russian 1719 GMT 27 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Commenting on the statement by Vladimir Shumeyko about the possible withdrawal of the Russian peacekeeping forces from the Georgian-Abkhaz conflict zone, Eduard Shevardnadze said that according to the preliminary data, so far, the war in Abkhazia has cost Russia 100 billion rubles, which approximately equals $30 million.

Gift to Refugees From Abkhazia Criticized

LD2812104994 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1041 GMT 28 Dec 94

["Georgia's New Year Gift to Refugees From Abkhazia a Pittance"—ITAR-TASS headline; by ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tbilisi December 28 TASS—Every Georgian refugee from Abkhazia will receive a new year gift from the Georgian Government in accordance with a decree signed by President Eduard Shevardnadze and Premier Otar Patsatsia.

Under the decree, every Georgian who had to flee from Abkhazia during hostilities will receive three million Georgian Coupons.

Despite the impressive figure, the amount is only slightly in excess of Georgia's official minimum wage and can now buy just over ten kilograms of bread in the republic.

Duma Official Arrives To Discuss Russian Peacekeepers

NC2712175494 Yerevan SNARK in English 1523 GMT 26 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sukhumi, 26 December (SNARK)—Today the President of Abkhazia, Vladislav Ardzinba, received the Russian Duma commissioner on CIS affairs, Konstantin Zatulin.

Mr. Zatulin arrived here in connection with a statement made by the Federation Council Chairman, Vladimir Shumeyko, on necessity to withdraw the Russian peacekeepers from Abkhazia, because the Abkhaz militants combat in Chechnya on Dudayev's side, the Abkhaz Foreign Ministry spokesman told SNARK. Meanwhile, the peacekeepers' commander in Abkhazia, Maj. Gen. Vasiliy Yakushev, made a statement that "Kodori Gorge is being patrolled by peacekeepers, and no militant training base can exist there". The same opinion has the head of UN military mission in Abkhazia, Brig. Gen. John Hvidegaard.

According to the same source, Konstantin Zatulin plans also inspectional visits in Gali and Ochamchira regions of Abkhazia, as well as Kodori Gorge.

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